A TEACHER'S COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY COMMUNION PART 1: HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

Samuel M. Garrett

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A TEACHER'S COMMENTARY ON THE HOLY COMMUNION

PART I: HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

By

Samuel M. Garrett

B. A., Pomona College, 1939

A THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfilment of requirements for

the degree of

BACHELOR OF DIVINITY

In the

CHURCH DIVINITY SCHOOL OF THE PACIFIC

Berkeley, California

May, 1946

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CONTENTS

Page

CHAPTERS

I. THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE EARLY CHURCH . . . 1

II. EARLY PRE-NICENE TEXTS 23

III. EASTERN AND WESTERN LITURGICAL FAMILIES . . 33

IV. ELEMENTS OF THE CLASSICAL LITURGIES 70

V. THE REFORMATION AND AFTER 84

APPENDICES

A. NAMES OF THE SERVICE 112

B. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE 1928 AMERICAN RITE 116

C. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF ANGLICAN LITURGIES . . 117

D. MAP: LOCATION OF THE LITURGICAL FAMILIES AROUND 400 A. D. 118

BIBLIOGRAPHY 119

CHAPTER I

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE EARLY CHURCH

On the day before his death, our Lord Jesus Christ sat in the upper room with his disciples, and partook of what was destined to be known as their Last Supper together. Ever since that time the followers of Christ have in some way called to remembrance that event; and at the very heart of the worship of most Christian bodies are to be found words and actions traditionally associated with it. To the disinterested observer (which the writer makes no claim of being) it will doubtless seem a far remove, not only in time, from the stately and splendid rites of High Mass at St. Peter's in Rome or the solemn Communion service in Westminster Abbey back to the simple meal in the Upper Room in Jerusalem. What is the road along which Christians have been travelling in their worship which would lead in this direction to the present day? It remains for this paper to reveal it, if by any chance it can even partially be revealed.

It is necessary, therefore, to go back to the beginnings of things, and look once more at the first Last Supper. Our Gospels all tell us of a meal at which Jesus and his most intimate followers, the Twelve, partook of food together for the last time before the Crucifixion. Three of them describe the central action of our Lord himself which has been thought to have given rise to the subsequent Christian observances.

Now in regard to this Supper, several things need to be remembered. First of all, our Lord and his disciples were Jews, and this immediately raises the consideration of their own thoughts and customs and daily lives as Jews. The Last Supper cannot be viewed in isolation from the Judaea of that time, and it will be increasingly clear as we study this whole question of the Communion service, that the service itself cannot be viewed in isolation from the life which goes on around it.

Liturgy and life: the two are inseparable, and the whole course of man's existence on this earth revolves around these two poles. Liturgy is simply a more descriptive term for the activity of worship. So man enters into relationship with his God by means of worship; then, strengthened and helped by the Divine Grace so freely given there, he goes forth to his daily round in the world of affairs. Yet the one who goes through these experiences is a human person; and his life will lack meaning and purpose, and his worship will lack reality and relevance, if either life or worship is viewed as separate from the other. So it is with us who are dealing with worship in what may seem a technical and esoteric manner: we must never forget that the Liturgy which is the object of our study is intimately bound up with the life of the Christian people who have used it down through the years to express their deepest religious feelings.

We repeat, our Lord and his disciples were Jews, and this fact may give us information as to the meaning and purpose of their common meal together. The accounts in the Synoptic Gospels are more explicit: they speak of it as a Passover meal, an observance of that Jewish religious feast going back to the early origins of the Hebrew people as described in the book of Exodus. The Passover was near at hand, and it would be incumbent upon every loyal Jew to prepare to eat the traditional Seder meal with his family or friends (St. Mark 14:12-26; St. Matthew 26:17-30; St. Luke 22:7-38). But was this Last Supper of Jesus and his disciples really a Passover meal? The Fourth Gospel is quite explicit that it was not, and for several convincing reasons many New Testament scholars have come to believe that its account of the last days of Holy Week is the correct one. The author of the Fourth Gospel speaks of a Last Supper, it is true, at which Jesus washed the feet of his disciples; but there is no mention of any such action of breaking bread or taking the cup, with the hallowed words accompanying, which the Synoptics describe. It would perhaps be well to give a parallel version of the two accounts: that of Synoptics as represented by St. Mark, and that of the Fourth Gospel.

St. Mark 14:1 f. "After two days was the feast of the Passover, and of unleavened bread....." (Note the inconsistency of verse 2, for that is just what the chief priests did.)	Nisan 13 St. John 13:1. "Now before the feast of the passover....." The Last Supper.
St. Mark 14:12 ff. The Last Supper a Passover meal.	Nisan 14 St. John 18:28, 19:14, 19:31. The Trial and Crucifixion.
St. Mark 15:1, 42. First day of unleavened bread. Crucifixion and Burial.	Nisan 15 St. John 19:42. The Sabbath.
St. Mark 15:42, 16:1. The Sabbath.	Nisan 16 St. John 20:1. The first day of the week.
St. Mark 16:1. The first day of the week.	Nisan 17

This table shows us that the accounts differ as to the calendar day, the Synoptics placing the events one day later than the Fourth Gospel places them. For the latter the Crucifixion is on Nisan 14, which it describes as the day the paschal lambs were slain for the feast. For St. Mark the Crucifixion is on Nisan 15, the first day of the actual

feast of unleavened bread itself. Which seems to be more correct?

Turning to those who support the Johannine chronology, we note first the inconsistency of St. Mark's dating in the second verse of chapter 14 as compared with the Trial narrative. The chief priests warned each other not to take Jesus on the feast "lest there be an uproar of the people": yet St. Mark goes on to tell us that is just what they did do. St. Mark's account has other hints which tell against its describing a Passover feast-day: the holding of a trial on that day is hard to believe of a Jewish community, or our Lord's own breaking of the Passover rules in leaving the house before the following morning. It has been pointed out that St. Paul seems to support the Johannine scheme in I Corinthians 5:6-8, "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast...."; the Fourth Gospel, as we have seen, describes Christ's death and the slaying of the lambs as going on at the same time. The meal itself, as described in the Synoptics, could be a Passover meal in its main outlines, but none of these main features are distinctive to the Seder alone, and it is strange that no specifically Seder features are mentioned, such as the lamb, the bitter herbs, or the unleavened bread. As regards this last feature, the Greek text uses the word artos of the bread our Lord took and broke, but this is the leavened loaf and not the unleavened bread which the Greeks

called azyma. There is also no indication that the Last Supper lasted until midnight as the Passover ritual required--in fact, the only possibly relevant Passover features of the Last Supper were the singing of a closing hymn and the fact that it was held in the limits of Jerusalem.

We turn to some later considerations which seem to support the Johannine chronology. Why, if the Last Supper was a Passover meal, did the early Church soon begin a weekly celebration of it (Acts 20:7), although the Passover was so particularly an annual feast? The evidence of the Talmud (such as it is) points to the fact the Jesus was hanged /sic/ on the eve of the Passover; while the Quartodeciman controversy in Asia Minor testifies to the early and strong tradition which supports the Fourth Gospel. As a matter of fact, there is only one chronological reference in St. Mark which requires us to give the Gospel a different dating from that of St. John: St. Mark 14:12. It is on this that the whole scheme of the Synoptics depends.[1] Why would that portion of the early Church which gave us St. Mark's Gospel want to identify the Last Supper with the Passover meal? Was it because of opposition to Judaism and its rites? Was it because the Church knew that Christ died at the Passover season, but exact knowledge of the date was dying out?

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[1]B. Harvie Branscombe, The Gospel of Mark (The Moffatt New Testament Commentary) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933), pp. 250 ff., p. 253.

The Roman provenance of St. Mark and the Asian provenance of St. John suggest that there was bitter rivalry between Rome and Asia Minor which later did flare into the Quartodeciman controversy over the observance of Easter.[2] But this thesis supporting the Fourth Gospel chronology has not gone unchallenged.

Certain German scholars, notably Dalman, Strack, and Billerbeck, support the idea that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. Their main contention seems to be that there was a divergence between the practice of the Sadducees and the Pharisees when the first day of unleavened bread occurred on a Sabbath, which it did in the year Christ was crucified. Under this condition the Pharisees are supposed to have put the slaying of the lambs back to the previous Thursday, and Jesus, following this practice, therefore observed the Passover on the Thursday night, as the Synoptics describe it. Refinements of this hypothesis need not detain us: it seems to be largely based on supposition.[3] Nevertheless there are less esoteric points which favor the Synoptic accounts. The author of St. Mark's Gospel undoubtedly knew the difficulties of his dating, and would surely not have so dated the events had he not been certain of his facts, and

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[2] Ibid., pp. 253 ff.

[3] A. E. J. Rawlinson, St. Mark (Westminster Commentaries) (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1927), pp. 265 f.

it is characteristic of St. John's Gospel that it would change the dating for "dogmatic motives": the identification of Christ with the Paschal lamb.[4] Professor Levertoff affirms (overlooking the question of the bread) that the Synoptic narrative contains nothing "inconsistent" with an identification of the Last Supper and the Passover meal. Citations from Jewish authors and from Josephus indicate that arms might be borne, a rebellious rabbi might be put to death, or a body might be buried, all on a festival.[5] We seem to be faced with an alternative:

> Either St. John has altered (the date) to suit the symbolism, or....the Synoptists call it the Paschal meal because as they looked back upon that year they saw that it had become the only Paschal meal they ate, and that the Lord had treated it as such.[6]

The problem is really one that is incapable of exact solution. We have little information as to the customs of Jewry at that time, and it may be the old maxim "The better the day the better the deed" would have applied in the case of executions on the Passover. St. John does correct the Synoptists, but whether for historical or symbolic reasons we find it hard to decide.[7] On the whole, however, the

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[4]G. H. C. MacGregor, The Gospel of John (The Moffatt New Testament Commentary) (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), p. xiii.

[5]P. P. Levertoff, "The Gospel according to St. Matthew," A New Commentary on Holy Scripture, ed. Gore et. al. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 197.

[6]W. Lock, "The Gospel according to St. John," A New Commentary, p. 262.

[7] H. D. A. Major, "Incidents in the Life of Jesus," The Mission and Message of Jesus, ed. Major, Manson, and Wright (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc. 1938), pp. 167 f.

writer of this paper inclines to the acceptance of the Johannine view. The imposing considerations bearing on the question which Dr. Branscombe (as well as other scholars) have marshalled for us, and particularly the point about the bread, convince me that the Last Supper was not a Passover meal, but rather that it occurred on the day before the Parasceve, or day of preparation for the Sabbath. What sort of a meal was it, then?

There has been suggested another alternative: that this meal was of that sort which was celebrated by the Jews on the evening of the Sabbath: a Kiddush meal, a gathering around the table of the family which was intended as a sort of hallowing of the Sabbath itself. The most striking feature of the Kiddush is the use of a Kiddush-cup, which was always blessed at the beginning of the meal, followed by the breaking of bread and a blessing, the meal itself, and finally the cup of blessing. It is to be noted that the breaking of bread and the cup of blessing were also to be found in other Jewish meals, but the distinctive feature of the Kiddush was the cup at the beginning. Many scholars have decided that this Last Supper was in fact an observance of the Kiddush, and that it was observed on this night in anticipation of the Passover.[8] St. Luke's account, with its two cups, seems to agree.

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[8] D. H. Hislop, Our Heritage in Public Worship (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1935), pp. 66 f.

It appears, nevertheless, that the Kiddush was restricted to the eves of Sabbaths and feasts, and the evening of the Last Supper was neither of these. Is there a third alternative, then? Yes, namely this: the ordinary fellowship meals common among groups of pious Jews. They are described for us in some detail by Dom Gregory Dix in his recent work on The Shape of the Liturgy, and by Dr. Felix Cirlot in The Early Eucharist; to these meals is given the name of Chaburoth. Although scholars have denied that the Chaburoth were more than ritualistic meals common among the Pharisees, Dix states that he has given the name to "any rather formal evening meal in a pious Jewish household."[9] Cirlot casts more light on these meals by showing the derivation of the word chaburoth from chabur, meaning friend,[10] and thus indicating the social nature of these functions. Both Cirlot and Dix, therefore, working independently, have arrived at the conclusion that the Last Supper was simply a fellowship meal of Jesus and his disciples, at which a rather formal ritual was observed: blessings of the broken bread at the beginning, and of a cup at the conclusion of the meal.[11] My own feeling is that we may rid ourselves of any concept of a Kiddush cup or a

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[9] Dom Gregory Dix, The Shape of the Liturgy (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1944), p. 50 n.

[10] Felix L. Cirlot, The Early Eucharist (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1939), pp. 14 ff.

[11] Dix, op. cit., p. 58.

Passover meal: the distinctive character of the Last Supper was given to it by the circumstances in which it took place, and above all, by the actions of our Lord.

Many have been the contentions that have raged about the various accounts of the Last Supper in the New Testament, of which, in addition to the Synoptics, we have St. Paul's description in the First Letter to the Corinthians. It is outside the scope of this present study to go into a description of all the various points of view. The chief matter of difference is whether our Lord actually used the words, "This do in remembrance of me," and thereby instituted explicitly the rite of the Eucharist. St. Paul (and St. Luke probably following him) says that he did, while St. Mark and St. Matthew are silent on this point. The question is still a live one in New Testament studies, and for a fresh approach as well as a sort of summary to the whole discussion the recent work of Dom Gregory Dix is again to be recommended.[12] His conclusion as to our Lord's action is simply this: that he did not establish a new rite, but instead gave to the traditional acts of Jews at a common fellowship meal, the breaking of bread and the taking of a cup of blessing, a "quite new meaning, which had a special connection with his own impending death....."[13] Dr. Hislop

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[12] Ibid., pp. 59 ff.

[13] Ibid., p. 58.

brings even more strongly this idea of the meaning behind what Christ did. To him the controversy over the words "Do this" has been largely unfruitful.

> However the differences in the accounts of the Supper are to be explained we must insist that the meaning of the institution of the Eucharist must not be cut away from the interpretation of Christian experience. We cannot explain what the Eucharist meant by ignoring all the rich development of its meaning.....
>
> We cannot explain the Eucharist by seeking to discover what the Supper meant to those who partook on that far-off night in an Eastern city.....[14]

In other words, we cannot separate the Eucharist from what happened on Good Friday or on Easter Day, from the events of Whitsunday, or from all the experience of the Church ever since the time when our Lord walked on this earth. The new meaning which he gave to the traditional Jewish forms and customs is to be found enshrined in that experience of the Church which is recorded for us in the New Testament, in the early Liturgies, in the Church Fathers, and in the Church's history ever since.

The twenty-fifth verse of the fourteenth chapter of St. Mark's Gospel presents us with an additional most interesting indication of the eschatological thinking of the early Church: "Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God." It has been suggested by

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[14] Hislop, op. cit., pp. 70 f.

Dr. N. P. Williams that this saying of our Lord's in this Gospel takes the place of the more definite Pauline command, "Do this in remembrance of me." One is a command, to do something in the future; the other is a description of what would actually happen in the future. The key phrase is, of course, the kingdom of God: the "sovereignity of God exercised by the Messiah reigning over a rejuvenated earth....." This kingdom was often expressed by the apocalyptic writers in terms of a banquet at which the Messiah presided (compare Isaiah 25:6, for example), and Dr. Williams, following Dr. Albert Schweitzer's suggestion, has put forward the idea that the Last Supper itself was intended by our Lord to foreshadow the banquet which he as Messiah would eat with his disciples after the kingdom had come with power.[15]

Did such a Messianic Banquet ever actually take place? Has the kingdom itself come? Was our Lord's prediction a true one? Dr. Williams feels that it was: that another prediction, "There be some here of them that stand by, which shall in no wise taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power" (St. Mark 9:1),

> was fulfilled in very truth at Pentecost, when the Kingdom of God came with power as the Catholic Church and faith, which went forth from the Upper Room, conquering and to conquer. On this hypothesis the

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[15] N. P. Williams, "The Origins of the Sacraments," Essays Catholic and Critical, ed. E. G. Selwyn (third edition) (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929), pp. 401 ff.

> 'kingdom'....is nothing other than the new dispensation of faith and grace which actually did spring from Calvary; it is the 'new covenant' consecrated by the blood of the Messiah, the new universal Ecclesia or Israel of God.[16]

What Dr. Williams has done is to equate the eschatological theories with what actually happened in the history of the Church. If the Kingdom of God is the "Catholic Church and faith," then the Messianic Banquet, he feels, can only be the Eucharist, the

> sacrum convivium which is the center of (the Church's) life, and in which the Messiah himself is believed to be both the Breaker of bread and the Bread which is broken.[17]

So what Christ did at the Last Supper, according to this view, was to foreshadow that Messianic Banquet-Eucharist which would be celebrated in the near future and forever after. His saying about not drinking "the fruit of the vine until I drink it anew with you in the kingdom" affirms that the drinking of the wine would be an observance continued after the kingdom had come. Again we repeat: where St. Paul has a command, St. Mark has a statement of what would happen; but both command and statement point to that same future event. In this view the Synoptic and Pauline accounts are apparently brought into harmony.[18] I find myself in

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[16] Ibid., p. 405.
[17] Ibid., p. 405.
[18] Ibid., pp. 406 f.

substantial agreement with Dr. Williams's hypothesis, and feel that he has done well to take account of the eschatological elements in the New Testament accounts.

The purely eschatological emphasis of the early Church, the looking for the second coming of Christ with power and great glory which was so marked a feature of early Christian thinking, still seems to have continued in later Christianity through the Semitic-East Syrian stream. However, it soon died out in the Roman world as the Church came into contact with Hellenistic civilization.

Our point of departure, then, is the Last Supper of our Lord. The next day he was crucified, and "on the third day he rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven." Whitsunday saw the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the band of disciples, and the Christian Church was brought into being. The book of the Acts of the Apostles tells us something of the life and work of this early Church, but the events recorded in it may be viewed from a later date. We see that the disciples carried on their worship chiefly in three ways. As loyal Jews they still kept up the observances of the Jewish religion: attendance at the Temple and at the Synagogue services; as followers of the Risen Lord, banded together in a common life, they met together in informal meetings for prayer and for that observance which the Acts calls the "breaking of bread." This, whether actually as yet a rite or simply a continuation of the fellowship meal, is

> the specifically Christian service..., the original contribution which the new faith makes to the forms of worship.[19]

In this worship of the early Church we see the presence of what has been called a sense of the Risen Lord, a sense of the Spirit of God, and a sense of the fellowship of the disciples of Christ.

Toward the end of the first century the appearance of the Gospel narratives reveals to us not so much what our Lord actually did at the Last Supper, but, as we have seen, what the experience of the Church knew that he had done. In the thinking of the Church on the meaning of the Supper, as reflected in the New Testament, we can discern two main elements. The first is found in the Synoptics and in St. Paul alike, and links the Supper with the atoning death of Christ the following day upon Golgotha. The second in its turn is set forth for us chiefly in the Fourth Gospel, but is also hinted at in the Synoptics, as we have seen: the idea that the breaking of bread is the Messianic Banquet, since the Messiah has already come with power. Rising out of these ideas we seem to see in the New Testament a reference to two different types of observance: one, corresponding to the Pauline idea, suggests a continuation of the disciples' table fellowship with Jesus at the Last Supper in a memorial of his sacrificial death; while the other,

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[19] Hislop, op. cit., p. 63.

corresponding to the Johannine idea, suggests a fellowship meal with the Risen Lord whose Presence still abides at the table. The former seems to stress the Sacrifice; the other seems to stress Presence. Are these two mutually exclusive ideas, and if not, how can they both be included in that one rite of the early Church which, as we believe, is described sooner or later as the "breaking of bread"?

There are three theories as to the relationship of these two types of rite. One says that the Pauline type took the place of the other more primitive Jerusalem table fellowship after a time in which they both had existed side by side. Another says that the Pauline rite developed out of the Jerusalem type. But other scholars find that neither of these explanations is altogether satisfactory. It might be pointed out that St. Paul's account in I Corinthians is, after all, the most primitive of all the accounts of the institution of the Last Supper (around 54 A. D.), and he is very careful to cite his authority for what he says. Accordingly, it is believed by this third group that the Pauline type has an actual basis in history,[20] but that the Church did not fully realize the meaning of our Lord's action and its relationship to his sacrificial death until a generation or so later.[21] There was a meal, a fellowship meal,

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[20] A. B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1934), pp. 154 ff.

[21] Dix, op. cit., pp. 74 f.

a Messianic Banquet, if you will, with the Presence of the Risen Lord prominent in the minds of the disciples; but there was also the remembrance of what happened on the day after that first Last Supper, of what Jesus both said and did, and these sacrificial-memorial elements were to be increasingly remembered by the Church.

This brings us to the next stage in the development of the Church's liturgy: the separation of the fellowship meal itself from its specifically Christian elements. We hear in later years of the Agapae meal, held separately from the Eucharist. Was this once a primitive type of Jerusalem fellowship meal without any of the sacrificial-memorial elements? We have described the point of view that both the fellowship meal and the Pauline type of memorial observance stem from the circumstances surrounding a chaburah (plural: chaburoth) supper which our Lord observed with his disciples on the night before he suffered.

> But the Eucharist consists of those elements in the chaburah customs (the breaking of bread and the cup of blessing) to which our Lord himself at the Last Supper had attached a new meaning for the future with reference to his own death. These have been carefully extracted from their setting, and continued in use apart from the rest of the chaburah meal.....[22]

Why did this separation of meal from memorial rite take place? Dom Gregory Dix, with what I feel is clear insight, sees the reason in the Gentile character which the Church assumed by

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[22] Ibid., p. 95.

the end of the first century. The traditional Jewish chaburah meal would have a somewhat different meaning for Gentiles, suggesting, perhaps, pagan meals attended by immorality and gluttony. Did not the Corinthian Church reveal the problems which arose out of the importation of a Jewish institution, the chaburah meal, into Gentile life? By the end of the first century the separation of worship service from social meal seems to have been complete, as St. Clement of Rome indicates; and by the end of the second century the meal itself was disappearing from the scene.[23]

It remains for us finally to consider what was the nature of this Eucharistic rite of the end of the first century: what elements of the fellowship meal were distinctively Christian and how were they extracted from the meal itself.

We must reconsider first of all St. Paul's narrative of the Last Supper as he gives it in I Corinthians 11:23 ff., in order particularly to note the sequence of events. It seems to consist first of the breaking of the bread, the usual beginning of any Jewish meal, then the meal itself, and, "when he had supped," the cup. As the meal became separated from the specific acts of our Lord (these being the "distinctively Christian" elements) in the second century observance of the Church, we find the cup ceremony coming

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[23] Ibid., p. 78, pp. 101 f.

immediately after that of the breaking of bread, both being included under the one act of "giving of thanks."[24] So long as the meal remained in any connection with the rite, it would come either before or after the breaking of bread and the blessing of the cup; in time it would disappear, perhaps leaving only a relic in the antidoron ceremony (the distribution of blessed bread) which occurs at the end of the Eastern Orthodox service.[25]

An outline of the rite based on the New Testament sources possibly would have been something like this: (1) the taking of bread, (2) the "giving of thanks" over the bread, (3) the breaking of bread, (4) the distribution of bread with certain words, (5) the taking of the cup, (6) the blessing of the cup, (7) and its distribution to the disciples also accompanied by certain words. But with the omission of the meal sections from between (4) and (5), (1) and (5) seem to have become combined into one act of placing bread and wine on the table, (2) and (6) became combined into one act of thanksgiving, and (4) and (7) became combined into one act of distribution. So we now have this outline of the rite by itself: (a) the placing of bread and wine on the table (Offertory), (b) the "giving of

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[24] Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 157 ff.

[25] C. B. Moss, The Christian Faith (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1943), p. 367.

thanks" over the bread and wine (Eucharistic Prayer), (c) the breaking of the bread (Fraction), and (d) the distribution of the bread and wine (Communion). This order or scheme has been named the "Shape of the Liturgy" by Dom Gregory Dix, and, as he points out, it is universally the basic outline of procedure in all the earliest liturgies. Each of these four essential acts is derived from "Jewish customs" of the chaburah supper. The Offertory, the placing of the bread and the wine on the table, goes back to the bringing in of the "contributions in kind" for the fellowship meal; the Eucharistic Prayer, with its opening invitation and dialogue ("Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God"), goes back to the Jewish berakah (Blessing) said over the cup, later combined as we have seen with the ordinary blessing of the bread, at the chaburah meal, which had an identical invitation and dialogue;[26] the Fraction goes back to the common ritual action at the beginning of all Jewish meals; and the Communion goes back to the distribution of the broken bread and the cup of blessing at every Jewish chaburah. The word berakah in Hebrew may be translated in English either "blessing" or "thanksgiving" (Eucharistia in Greek), since among the Jews every blessing was a thanksgiving to God for his gifts before they were put to use.[27]

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[26]Dix, op. cit., pp. 78 ff.

[27]Ibid., p. 79.

> The liturgical Eucharist consisted simply of those particular things in the ordinary chaburah customs to which our Lord at the Last Supper had attached a new meaning for the future. These had been detached from the rest of the chaburah ritual and perpetuated independently.
>
> To these the primitive Church added a preliminary greeting and kiss, and a single final phrase of dismissal. This is the whole of the pre-Nicene Eucharist.[28]

The rite was now called a Eucharist (Thanksgiving) because the Prayer of Thanksgiving had become its most prominent feature: one element has given its name to the whole.

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[28] Ibid., p. 103.

CHAPTER II

EARLY PRE-NICENE TEXTS

The Didache

It is time now to come to a consideration of that document known as The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, or, more commonly, the Didache. The date of this fragment is most uncertain: critical opinion places it all the way from around 100 A. D. to 180 A. D.[1] It is a series of directions for various aspects of the Christian life, and the directions for a "Eucharist" in chapters 9 and 10 are particularly relevant to our study. Jewish elements are strong, the very Prayers of thanksgiving are based on Jewish models, and the eschatological expectation of the early Church is revealed in the last phrase of the ritual. Its order is as follows:

(1) A thanksgiving "concerning the Cup."

(2) A thanksgiving "concerning the broken bread."

(3) A direction that none unbaptized "eat or drink from your thanksgiving."

(4) A thanksgiving after the meal, containing,

(a) Thanksgiving for the name of God and the sending of Christ;

(b) Thanksgiving for Creation of the food and drink, both material and spiritual;

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[1] See James Muilenburg, The Literary Relations of the Epistle of Barnabas and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (Marburg, Germany, 1929), pp. 167 f. for a brief summary of his conclusions favoring the late second century date for the Didache.

(c) Thanksgiving for God's might;

(d) Short prayers for the Church.

(5) Brief phrases looking to the second coming of Christ.

We note immediately the differences in the order of this document from that based on the Gospel narratives, the liturgical "Shape." The cup comes before the bread, and there is no mention of the actual institution of the Supper by Christ through word or act, nor is there any definite relation of the service to his death on the cross. The directions end with one which mentions the presence of a prophetic ministry at this observance, possibly in a presiding capacity.[2]

Two views have been held concerning the Didache and the rite described therein. One is that we have here the original Jewish fellowship meal as observed in the early Jerusalem church before St. Paul's ideas of memorial and sacrifice had become known; the other is that this rite refers to the Agapae meal after it had become separated from the Eucharist proper. It is interesting to note that the Didache, in chapter 14, describes another rite called by the term "Sacrifice," and held on the Lord's Day (Sunday). Its ministers are bishops and deacons. Surely this passage can refer only to the liturgical Eucharist, and it has

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[2]Hislop, op. cit., pp. 82 f.

seemed far more probable that the service in chapters 9 and 10 does describe the Agapae meal. True, it is called a Eucharist (Thanksgiving), but we must remember that that word translates the Hebrew berakah, which may also be translated by "blessing" (Greek: Eulogia), and the evidence shows us that the words were interchangeable in Greek usage down to the end of the second century at the earliest. There is no cup of blessing in the Didache rite to accompany the final Thanksgiving. And above all, the Didache quotes the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and so could hardly have ignored the Matthaean account of the Last Supper and its close connection with the Passion in chapter 26 of the Gospel. The evidence, therefore, seems to point to the Agapae's being the subject of chapters 9 and 10 of the Didache, while the Eucharist proper is the subject of the directions in chapter 14. The fairly well substantiated lateness of the Didache's appearance would also make improbable its referring to a primitive Jerusalem Lord's Supper, especially in view of the known date and origin of our next authority for the Eucharist.[3]

St. Justin Martyr

Our earliest explicit description of the Eucharist itself is to be found in the First Apology of St. Justin Martyr,

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[3]Dix, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.

who died about 163 A. D. It is interesting to note that St. Justin himself was born in Palestine at the town of Shechem, and thus may come from a Semitic background, although by the time he began to write he was living at Rome. He describes for us how the early Christians came together on Sundays for their worship, and it is apparent that a development of the Eucharist has taken place. He mentions a Kiss of peace given before and after the "sacred feast," and he also describes the mingling of water with the wine. His most important witness, however, is to the presence of a preliminary observance of the Church obviously based on the Jewish Synagogue service, and consisting of readings from Scripture, a sermon, and prayer.[4] It is time, therefore, for us to consider the origins of this introduction to the Eucharist which seems to have grown up in the Church by the middle of the second century.

It has been called the "Word of God" service, because of the presence of the readings from the Bible, and has been called even a "direct copy of the Jewish worship of the Synagogue."[5] We remember that the early Christians, the disciples of our Lord, continued to attend the Jewish services of Temple and Synagogue for a fairly extended period of time. But with the growing separation of Jew from Christian (reflected in the persecutions described in the

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[4]Hislop, op. cit., pp. 80 f.

[5]Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 75 ff.

Acts of the Apostles), after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A. D., the Christians gradually ceased from participating in Jewish worship, and met for worship entirely among themselves. It seems, however, that they took Synagogue customs and observances with them, and that these were the basis for the "Word of God" service in the early Church.

This "Word of God" service is composed of five elements: Scripture, Psalmody, Preaching, Prayer, and Praise, all elements which are to be found in the modern Jewish Synagogue. In the early Church the Scripture readings were most likely to be at first from the Law and the Prophets, probably read in Greek in the Septuagint version which was the Bible of the largely Gentile Christian body as well as of the Greek-speaking Diaspora. These readings were of no required length. As time went on specifically Christian literature made its appearance in the public services of the Church: the apostolic letters and the narratives of our Lord's life and teaching which were probably in general circulation by the beginning of the second century. Interspersed with these readings, according to Synagogue precedent, occurred selections from the Jewish Psalter, the hymn book of the early Church as well. In time Christian psalms made their appearance, such as we find in the Gospel Canticles of St. Luke and the Hymns of the Apocalypse, as well as in certain passages of St. Paul's letters (Ephesians 5:14, Philippians 2:6-11).

The preaching of the Synagogue service had been largely made up of commentary on the texts of Scripture which had previously been read. In the Christian Church we must distinguish between this type of preaching, which still continued, and the preaching of the Gospel to win converts to the Faith. Christian preaching was thought (with some justification) to be inspired by the Holy Ghost.

Following the lessons of Scripture, the Psalmody, and Preaching came the Prayers, also inherited from the Synagogue, and also Spirit-inspired. Examples of these prayers are to be seen in the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (around 95 A. D.): they are free prayers to a large extent, but dependent upon Jewish liturgical and Scriptural forms, and fitted to the public worship of the Church. They "voice the needs and aspirations of the whole worshipping community,"[6] and are addressed to God the Father. Their content may be classified under the three main types of Confession of sins, Petition and Intercession, and Praise and Thanksgiving. The element of praise itself was chiefly to be seen in the Doxology at the end of the series of prayers, the whole action being concluded by the people's Amen, their word of assent. It is interesting to note that the Lord's Prayer had apparently not yet been selected for use in public worship.[7]

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[6] Ibid., p. 93.

[7] Ibid., see chapters vii, viii and ix for a detailed description of the "Word of God" service.

St. Justin Martyr, therefore, shows us that this "Word of God" service had become joined to the Eucharist. His outline of the whole Eucharistic rite is as follows:

(1) Word of God service ("All gather together....."):
    (a) Readings from the Bible;
    (b) Sermon by the president;
    (c) Prayer.
(2) Eucharist (The giving of thanks):
    (a) Kiss of peace;
    (b) Offering of bread and the mixed cup;
    (c) Eucharistic Prayer ("....gives thanks at considerable length....."): memorial and sacrificial elements are present. Concluded by Amen;
    (d) Communion.[8]

A technical term for the "Word of God" service is that which describes the gathering together of the people for worship: Synaxis, coming from the same root as Synagogue, and meaning simply "a gathering-together."

Hippolytus

Following the description of St. Justin Martyr, we have from about the beginning of the third century a liturgical document known as the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus. Hippolytus was the leader of the Greek-speaking party at

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[8]Hislop, op. cit., p. 81.

Rome; he later went into schism, and was martyred in 235. His literary gifts seem to have been renowned.[9] The text itself is a Eucharistic Prayer only, containing the following elements:

(1) The traditional dialogue, derived, as we have seen, from the Jewish berakah prayer, and containing what we know now as the Sursum Corda ("Lift up your hearts");

(2) Thanksgiving for the Incarnation and Redemption;

(3) Narrative of the Institution of the Last Supper;

(4) Memorial and Oblation;

(5) Invocation of the Holy Ghost;

(6) Intercession for the Church;

(7) Doxology.

It is generally agreed that this prayer represents the use of the Roman Church early in the third century of our era,[10] at an early stage in liturgical development. The work of Christ is stressed, and the aspect of memorial is strong, coming to a climax in the words of Institution which Christ used, the whole "pivot" of the prayer.[11] As this is the only text of a pre-nicene Eucharistic prayer which has come down to us unrevised, its importance cannot be exaggerated;

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[9]E. L. Parsons and B. H. Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), p. 18.

[10]Yngve Brilioth, Eucharistic Faith and Practice (trans. by A. G. Hebert) (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930), p. 20.

[11]Dix, op. cit., pp. 160 f.

at the same time, however, as Dix points out, it is dangerous to interpret "all other evidence exclusively in the light of this single document."[12] We must not suppose that this prayer was the norm for all the Christian world at that time.

It will be seen from the outline that not only does Hippolytus stress the narrative of the Institution, but he also contains an Invocation of the Holy Ghost. Gavin, writing in Liturgy and Worship, deduces from this that the Tradition is the parent from which both Eastern and Western Consecration Prayers spring. The Eastern prayer, stressing an aspect of mystery and presence, teaches that the consecration of the bread and wine is effected by the Holy Ghost; the Western Prayer (represented by the Roman Canon), in its turn stressing the memorial and sacrificial elements, teaches that our Lord's words of Institution effect the consecration.[13] Both elements are present in Hippolytus, as we have seen, and this is all the more significant for our knowledge of Western Eucharistic doctrine when we remember its practically assured Western provenance.

Dix, however, dismisses Hippolytus's Invocation of the Holy Ghost as being more "likely (on the textual evidence)....

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[12] Ibid., pp. 157 f.

[13] Frank Gavin, "The Eucharist in East and West," Liturgy and Worship, ed. Lowther Clarke and Harris (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932), p. 105.

a fourth century addition, than part of (the original) third century text."[14] Unfortunately he does not give his reasons for holding this view, but instead refers his readers to a previous work, his edition of the Tradition of Hippolytus dated at London in 1937. His conclusions as to the teaching of the prayer and the view of the Eucharist which it sets forth are colored by this presupposition. Briefly he feels that Hippolytus emphasizes the centrality of the memorial and sacrificial aspects, and that what the Church does is to offer and receive the bread and the cup, which have been identified with Christ's Body and Blood by the Institution. This view tries to make Hippolytus wholly "Western," and also minimizes the importance of the Invocation in the Eucharistic prayer itself. I cannot find myself as yet in full agreement with him, and this paper will continue on the basis of Dr. Gavin's apparently more factual conclusion.

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[14]Dix, op. cit., p. 158 n.

CHAPTER III

EASTERN AND WESTERN LITURGICAL FAMILIES

Geography of the Roman World

By the beginning of the third century, therefore, we find what we may call at least an outline of normal Eucharistic procedure in the early Church. St. Justin Martyr has indicated for us the main outline of the Liturgy as a whole, while in the Tradition of Hippolytus we have the form and the content of the great Eucharistic prayer. All during this time, we must remember, Christianity was spreading throughout the Roman world, and we must shortly note that geographical differences will leave their marks on the main outline and structure of the Eucharistic rites, in some cases altering them from this norm of which we speak.

Let us take a glance at the geography of the Roman Empire, under whose peaceful rule Christianity had thus far progressed. Jerusalem, the cradle of the religion, had by this time passed out of the picture: the destruction under Titus and Hadrian (70 and 135 A. D. respectively) had been built over by the Romans in the form of the Gentile city of Aelia Capitolina, whose bishop for long was merely a suffragan to the Metropolitan of Caesarea. The three main centers of the Empire were Rome itself, Antioch the capital of Syria, and Alexandria, the capital of Egypt. Around

these great cities, as around magnetic poles, early Christian life and thought revolved, and it was not long before each center developed certain special characteristics. Alexandria leaned to the speculative and mystical: philosophy thrived there, and intellectual pursuits were fostered for their own sake. Antioch, on the other hand, formed a contrast: here the emphasis was on action and life, the evidence of the senses (empiricism), and history. Rome preserved a mediating position, and was noted most of all for its conservatism, going back to the apostolic heritage traditionally bestowed by the martyrdom and burial of Ss. Peter and Paul there. While in the early years of the Church, Rome felt itself drawn into alliance with Alexandria on several questions as against the Syrian and Asian churches, the Roman temper of legalism and pragmatism quickly developed and placed its characteristic Western stamp on the Roman Church.

Other geographical areas and their metropolitan centers also need mention at this point. From the earliest days proconsular Asia (what we know as Asia Minor) was an important home of Christianity, and preserved precious memories of the preaching of St. Paul at Ephesus and his several sojourns there. During the opening years of the third century North Africa, and particularly Carthage, likewise earned a universal fame. Northern Italy, centering at Milan, and southern Gaul, centering around Arles and Lyons, complete the list of important areas of early Christianity, and each

of them contributed in time distinctive elements to the stream of Christian life, thought, and worship, all based on the common heritage. Unfortunately we have not yet found any pre-Nicene liturgical texts for any of these centers save for the three greatest, Rome, Syria, and Egypt. It is, therefore, with these alone that we shall deal in some detail, and more particularly with the first two, since they are the two which have had any real influence on our present Anglican rites.[1] From these three cities of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria arise during the fourth century (the next stage of our development) the well-known liturgical "families."[2]

The Syrian Family

It is Antioch, the home of the Syrian family, which claims our first attention. For the structure of the service as it probably could be found in third and fourth century Syria we have above all the so-called Apostolic Constitutions (particularly ii:57 and viii:5-15) as a guide, as well as indications from the Twenty-third Catechism of St. Cyril of Jerusalem (347) and from the Homilies of St. John Chrysostom (400). After 312, of course, Christianity came out into the open, and this largely

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[1] Dix, op. cit., p. 156.

[2] Mgr. L. Duchesne, Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution, (trans. by M. L. McClure) (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1927), pp. 1-45.

accounts for the fact that we can henceforth see something of the actual form of the liturgies through available texts, now that the necessity for secrecy and hiding is past. The Apostolic Constitutions do not give us the normal Liturgy of any specific Church, but rather indicate something of the general Syrian type of service. Its outline is as follows:

(1) The Liturgy of the catechumens (those receiving instruction preparatory to their baptism), corresponding to the Synaxis (also called the pro-Anaphora: before the Offering):
   (a) Lessons from the Old Testament (two in number);
   (b) Psalmody;
   (c) Lessons from the Acts and the Epistles;
   (d) The Gospel;
   (e) Sermons;
   (f) Dismissal of the catechumens.

(2) The Liturgy of the faithful, corresponding to the Eucharist:
   (a) The Prayers of the faithful;
   (b) Offertory;
   (c) Kiss of peace (the distinctive Syrian position);
   (d) The Deacon's prayer (Intercessions);
   (e) The Sacrifice (sic): the Eucharistic prayer;
   (f) The Communion.[3]

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[3]Hislop, op. cit., p. 84.

The Apostolic Constitutions give us an idea, therefore, of the Liturgy in Syria, but for an actual text we must turn to the so-called Liturgy of St. James. This is not the original rite of Antioch, but comes instead from Jerusalem itself, which by the middle of the fourth century had once more recovered its old name and something of its prestige as the site of our Lord's death and resurrection. The very fact of this prestige caused the Jerusalem rite to spread northward toward the Syrian capital, until sometime around 400 it was adopted at Antioch. The Liturgy of St. James is found in two languages, Greek and Syriac, and in the latter tongue is still used today by the Monophysite Jacobites as the basis of their liturgy. But after two or three hundred years, the Greek rite was abandoned by the Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch in favor of the Byzantine derived liturgies, this being a result of the shift in power from Antioch to Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Empire.[4] The distinctive features of the Liturgy of St. James are the occurrence of the Intercession after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Eucharistic prayer, and the appearance of the Lord's Prayer at the end of the Eucharistic prayer as a preparation for the Communion.[5]

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[4] Dix, op. cit., p. 176.

[5] Ibid., p. 513.

If the Apostolic Constitutions indicates something of the Syrian type, and the Liturgy of St. James is a South Syrian rite, what can be said of the Byzantine liturgies, basically Syrian in structure, which have supplanted older rites throughout the Orthodox East? These liturgies at present are two in number: the Liturgy of St. Basil, and the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, although neither text is the actual product of these two saints. It appears that St. Basil's Liturgy, the older of the two, originally came from Asia Minor, this time from the city of Caesarea in Cappadocia, whose famous bishop was St. Basil himself in the later years of the fourth century. Caesarea had looked to Antioch as the model of its liturgical observances, being fairly close to the great city, and during this time its own rite became assimilated to the Syrian type. But as Antioch declined in influence after the Nestorian and Monophysite troubles of the fifth century, and as Constantinople (Bysantium) increased in prestige as the New Rome, Caesarea and the other Asian cities turned toward the Bosphorus. In time the reverse movement set in, the newer Liturgies of St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom (the latter having only slight variations from the former) came to oust even in Antioch the older more definitely Syrian rites which had once centered there. It is well to remember in this connection the close ties of Antioch with Constantinople through the influence of the Antiochene patriarchs of the latter city, St. John

Chrysostom and the heretic Nestorius.[6]

Today these two Byzantine rites cover an immense territory, and are living liturgies in every respect, even to the point of being rendered in a language for the most part understood by the people. In Russia and in the South Slav countries the language is Old Slavonic, in Greece and the Levant the language is Greek, and in Roumania the native language itself is used. The Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom is the normal rite of the Eastern Orthodox Churches today, while that of St. Basil is used on special occasions.

The Armenian liturgies are likewise developments of the Caesarean-Antiochene-Byzantine family, this time found to the northeast instead of in the western part of Asia Minor. It remains only to speak of the East Syrian rites which are used in the remnants of the once widespread Nestorian Churches. The liturgical center was the city of Edessa, whose liturgy was named after Ss. Addai and Mari, traditionally the "apostles" to that area from Antioch. Basically the spirit of Edessa was Semitic, as opposed to the Hellenism of Antioch, and the Nestorian liturgy is thus also Semitic, with strong infiltrations, it is true, of Greek phraseology and thought. The main features of this rite are the complete absence of any narrative of the Institution, and the fact that the

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[6]Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 65 ff.

Eucharistic prayer is addressed throughout to God the Son. Its value for liturgical students lies in its indication of a later Semitic type of liturgy only partially touched by Greek ideas. Dix feels that it may be placed beside the Tradition of Hippolytus as an example "from the opposite end of the Christian world" of a different stream of Eucharistic thought.

> Hippolytus, for all the relics of old Jewish form, is thoroughly Hellenic in its attempt to frame its statement of the essential meaning of the Eucharist in rational relation to the whole Christian revelation. Addai and Mari is equally Semitic in the intensity of its absorption in the Eucharistic experience, and in its concentration upon eschatology to the exclusion of philosophising.[7]

Points which the two have in common, and which therefore may also indicate the earliest type of Eucharist, are these: the Institution of the Last Supper is the authority for what the Church does (although Addai and Mari do not describe it), the essence of the Eucharist is the offering of the bread and cup, and the whole "rite recalls before our Lord, not the Last Supper, but the redemption he has wrought....present and operative by its effects in the communicants."[8]

We turn now to a description of the rite of the Syrian family in somewhat more detail than the above outline of the Apostolic Constitutions. At the hour for the service the

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[7] Dix, op. cit., pp. 186 f.

[8] Ibid., p. 187.

congregation assembled, the men standing on one side of the church, the women on the other, while the clergy took their places in the apse. The reader began the Lessons, which were interspersed with chants, and ended with the reading of the Gospel by a priest or deacon. Then the priests began their homilies, after which occurred the series of dismissals of those who were not yet ready to behold the sacred Mysteries. First prayers were said for the catechumens, then they were dismissed. Then prayers were said for the penitents, followed by their dismissal. Next prayers were said for the faithful, and, if there was to be no Eucharist that day, they were dismissed and the service ended. These prayers were phrased in what came to be known as the Litany form: a petition made by a deacon, with a fixed response (usually Kyrie eleison: Lord, have mercy) by the congregation.[9]

When the Eucharist did follow, however, the service continued with the Kiss of peace (later placed before the Eucharistic prayer), a mutual greeting symbolizing the love of Christians for each other. The solemn Offertory then took place, during which the deacons divided into two groups, one to guard the church, the other to bring up the many loaves and flasks of wine which were the offerings of the people. These offerings were placed on the altar. Then came the solemn Eucharistic prayer, which was composed of Sursum Corda,

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[9] Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.; Dix, op. cit., pp. 434 ff.

Sanctus-Benedictus, the Eucharistic prayer-nucleus itself, Intercessions, and, by 400 in Jerusalem at least, the Lord's Prayer. The Fraction followed immediately, and must have taken some time; then the administration of the Elements to the people occurred. The service closed with a formula of dismissal.

As the years progressed, further developments made themselves known in this rite which we must now consider. The first of these is what Dix calls the fusion of the Synaxis and the Eucharist, so that both were always celebrated on all ordinary occasions. An early result of this fusion was that the prayers of the faithful were placed within the Eucharist proper, although they originally belonged with the Synaxis. The break between the two parts of the rite now came right after the dismissal of the catechumens.[10] The influence of the Byzantine imperial court is to be seen in the adoption of a more and more imposing ceremonial: the entrance of the ministers at the beginning of the Liturgy to the chant Monogenes, the chanting of the Trisagion before the Lessons, the ceremonial entrance of the Gospel book, and the further enhancement of the Offertory procession by lights, incense, and the singing of the hymn Cherubikon. The Byzantine rites themselves have a distinctive feature here. The people's offering has ceased to be

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[10] Dix, op. cit., pp. 435 ff.

made at this point; but certain loaves have been presented before the service begins, and have been prepared behind the screen in the ceremony known as the Prothesis. Then at the time of the Offertory the prepared elements are brought in in a solemn procession to the Holy Table: this is the Great Entrance, which has now taken the place of the Offertory procession. And finally, around the beginning of the sixth century, we see a reflection of doctrinal controversies in the introduction of the Nicene Creed immediately before the solemn Eucharistic prayer.

The Egyptian Family

We go now to Alexandria, the second parent city for the various liturgies, yet one which has not had the subsequent influence of either of its sisters. Our principal source is the so-called Bishop Serapion's Prayer Book, a text containing a prayer of oblation, which some consider to have been part of an official liturgy, while others are equally certain that it was a private compilation for purposes of instruction.[11] Here we have the earliest known appearance of the Sanctus chant referred to in the Apostolic Constitutions (but absent from Hippolytus); however, the succeeding Benedictus is absent here. The Prayer Book may be dated about the middle of the fourth century. The normal Alexandrian

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[11] Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 75 ff.

liturgies are to be found in the texts of the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Cyril (the latter is very close to St. Mark). Also descended from the Alexandrian rites is that of Ethiopia, whose Liturgy of the Twelve Apostles is fundamentally identical with that of St. Cyril. The separation of the Greek from the Coptic rites goes back at least to the schism of 451 and the succeeding years, when the Alexandrian Church for the most part followed the Monophysite heresy. Elements of national versus imperial rivalry came into the picture: the Orthodox group at Alexandria held to the Greek Liturgy of St. Mark only a few centuries longer, after which it was discarded in favor of the Byzantine rite. Characteristic features of the Alexandrian rites are the position of the Intercession between the opening of the Eucharistic prayer and the Sanctus, and, as we have noted, the shortened form of the Sanctus itself.

The Western Families

We come now to the western part of the Roman world and take up for consideration the liturgies whose parent was probably to be found in the city of Rome. The Tradition of Hippolytus is generally believed to be Roman in origin (Hippolytus himself was a bishop of Rome as we have seen), and from it we have some idea as to early third century Western usage. The difficulty in describing the earlier

Roman services, however, is that no other early texts have come down to us from Rome; our sources are as yet only a series of Sacramentaries dating from a time not earlier than the middle of the sixth century, in addition to isolated references in various letters and official documents of the popes. Before describing the contents of the Sacramentaries, however, it will be necessary to describe their origin and how they came to enshrine the liturgies of the Western Church.

Those elements of the Eucharist (and indeed of all formal services of worship) which are said, and which are known by the term "ritual" (as distinguished from "ceremonial"), can be grouped into three classes when one looks at the contents of the early liturgies. These are the Lessons, the Chants, and the Prayers. As the liturgies developed, the content of each of these ritual elements crystallized into more or less fixed forms. The Lessons, for example, gradually assumed a certain defined length, and from being contained in the Bible alone, they were later put into collections of the prescribed readings known as Lectionaries, Epistolaries (in the case of the Epistles), or Evangelaries (in the case of the Gospels). An index to the prescribed readings for feast days was provided by the Comes (the "companion" to the Lectionary).

The same thing happened to the Chants which interspersed the Lessons. Up to the late fourth century psalms (as we saw in the Synaxis or "Word of God" service) were sung as solos

by a cantor, with the people singing the last words of each verse as a sort of refrain: this was known as the responsary method of singing, and psalms sung in this way were known as Psalmi Responsarii. Since they were sung on the steps of the lectern, they were also called Psalmi Graduales or simply Graduales (from gradus: step). At the penitential seasons, however, the people did not repeat the refrain, but the psalm was sung straight through by the cantors alone: this method was known as the singing of a Psalmus Tractus. A third type of psalmody developed in the late fourth century, in which the psalm began to be chanted by two choirs alternately by verses. This is known as antiphonal singing, and at Rome was particularly used at the beginning of the service during the entrance of the ministers, and also during the Offertory and the Communion. Finally it remains to mention the use of the acclamation Alleluia immediately before the Gospel: this later developed into an elaborate chant, and ultimately led to the introduction of a long text or Sequence at this point. The responsive singing of the psalms, which occurred between the readings, was an act done for its own sake, an integral part of the service; while the antiphonal singing was done merely to cover up some action going on at the same time, such as an entrance, a procession, or the Communion. The Chants, like the Lessons, were soon gathered into books: the Cantatorium or Liber Gradualis for the gradual psalms, and the Antiphonarium for the use of

those choirs which sang the antiphonal psalms. Further musical embellishments, such as the Sequences, hymns, or additional texts were included in the Hymnarium or Liber Sequentialis.

The third class of the ritual portions of the liturgy is that of the Prayers, and this class is in its turn divided into three groups. The first is Litany prayer, which we have already met in the Syrian liturgies from which it probably took its origin, and which is a petition made by a minister with a certain fixed recurring response by the congregation. The second is collective prayer, and is particularly characteristic of the West as the Litany is of the East. In collective prayer the people are bidden to pray for a certain end, then, after a short period of silent prayer, their petitions are "gathered together" by the officiant (from colligere: to gather together) in a short summary prayer known as an Oratio ad collectam, or Collecta. The third type of prayer is represented by the already familiar Eucharistic prayer, with its opening formula of Sursum Corda taking its origin from the Jewish berakah. It is, as its name suggests, a prayer of thanksgiving, said by the officiant in the name of all. In the West it came to be divided by the Sanctus into the Preface (Praefatio) and the Canon (Canon actionis, Actio: the actual prayer itself) containing the words of Institution, and actually effecting the Consecration of the elements. These various types of prayer were in

their turn grouped into books (called in Greek Euchologia) or Sacramentaries (Libri sacramentorum), and it is these Sacramentaries which give us almost our only picture of the early Western liturgies.[12] In the course of time Lessons and Chants were inserted into the Sacramentary, and we have as a result what is now called the Missal (the Mass book par excellence): the complete and combined book for the saying of the Eucharist, with all material needed in one volume instead of being divided in several volumes among the various ministers.

The earliest of the Sacramentaries is that called the Leonine Sacramentary, after Pope Leo the Great (around 451). In spite of its name it is definitely assigned to the middle of the sixth century, just before the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great, although it may contain earlier material. It is a purely Roman book, and unfortunately contains only the Proper Prefaces and the Collects. There is no framework of the order of service, nor is there any text of the Canon, the Eucharistic prayer. This is a serious loss, as we should like very much to have some information on the Roman Canon even at this time.[13]

The next Sacramentary in point of time is that called the Gelasian Sacramentary (although again it has no connection

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[12] Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 106 ff., has been invaluable for all this information on the ritual elements. I am greatly indebted to chapter iv of his book.

[13] Ibid., pp. 135 ff.

with the pope whose name it bears), and dates from around 700, being apparently intended for use in France.[14] It contains much more material than the Leonine Sacramentary, and actually amounts to a Roman framework with many Gallican modifications which indicate its French destination and use.

But the best-known of all the Sacramentaries, and the most complete text of the Roman service, is that to which the name of Gregorian has been given, after St. Gregory the Great (600). It comes from long after his time, however, and is thought to be the result of a request by the Emperor Charlemagne to Pope Adrian about 784 to send a Roman Sacramentary to France. By this time the Roman see had acquired its great prestige in the West, and Charlemagne was anxious to bring order out of the liturgical chaos which had gradually developed there before his time. The Gregorian Sacramentary contains the Canon, the collect prayers, the Prefaces, and the other variable parts chanted by the priest, as well as the ordination prayers.[15]

When we turn to the rest of Western Europe, to the other Christian centers such as Lyons or Arles or Milan, we find the use of other rites that reveal several major differences from the Roman rite. These have been grouped into the so-called Gallican liturgies, and were apparently

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[14]Adrian Fortescue, The Mass: A Study of the Roman Liturgy (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912), p. 121.

[15]Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 120 ff.

prevalent in Spain, Northern Italy, France, and Britain. Gallican texts are to be found in the Missale Gothicum, containing certain Roman elements, and coming from southern France during the eighth century; the Missale Gallicanum Vetus, of the same date; and the Stowe Missal from Britain in the seventh and eighth centuries, largely Roman with Gallican details. The Letters of St. Germain (555-576) also give us fairly early indications of the Gallican services. Finally, the Bobbio Missal (Missal in the full sense: the previous missals were really Sacramentaries) shows us what actually happened by the eighth century when it appeared. The Gallican rites were being supplanted by the Roman liturgy throughout most of France and northern Italy, as well as in Britain.[16]

The Gallican Liturgies

The question must now be asked, What were these Gallican liturgies like, and whence came they? There have been several explanations, given by various liturgical scholars, and one of the most convincing to the author of this paper is that of Mgr. Duchesne. The evidence seems to point, he says, to their first appearing not earlier than the middle of the fourth century in the territory around Milan, northern Italy. At this time Milan enjoyed great honor and influence in the

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[16]Fortescue, op. cit., p. 116.

West because of its position as a metropolitan see and the capital of the Western Roman Empire. Its bishops were largely very able men, the most famous among them being St. Ambrose who held the see from 374 until his death in 397. Milan, as a matter of fact, could be said to have had more prestige at this date than Rome itself. In addition, the evidence seems to show that the Church in the West was undergoing a period of reorganization, in which the liturgy of a great ecclesiastical and political center would surely influence the rites of surrounding territories. St. Ambrose should also be remembered in this regard, since he undertook reforming work along liturgical lines during his tenure of the see. Accordingly, Duchesne sees the liturgy of Milan spreading throughout the West (except into Rome, of course) during the latter half of the fourth century: this is his explanation of the origin of the so-called Gallican rites.[17]

But there still remains a second question? In the liturgy of Milan itself, what was the origin of those features which so clearly recall Eastern rites? Duchesne concludes that the Milanese liturgy was itself an Oriental rite introduced into Milan towards the middle of the fourth century (if not earlier). The imperial court was at Milan during this time, as we have noticed, and a predecessor to St. Ambrose in that see was a Cappadocian, Auxentius by name, a semi-Arian,

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[17]Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 90 ff.

and a strong personality. He it was, Duchesne feels, who introduced the specifically Eastern features into the liturgy of the north Italian city. When St. Ambrose succeeded to the see, he restored sound doctrine, but apparently did not try to change the liturgical work of his heretical predecessor. During this time Rome seems to have been ineffective, and its influence was very slight among the barbarian kingdoms.[18]

Brilioth, however, does not agree with Duchesne on this explanation of Gallican origins. He favors the same French view which Duchesne condemns: that the rise of the Gallican rites occurred at Lyons or some other city of southern Gaul which was the parent of both the Roman and the later Gallican variants of north Italy and Spain. He cites in support the widespread diffusion of Gallican rites throughout the West, and also, more effectively bolstering his view, he stresses the fact that both the Gallican and Roman rites are based on the principle of variation in prayers and chants according to the season or feast. This latter consideration, Brilioth feels, tells against any Eastern origin for the Gallican rites, for in the East seasonal variation in the liturgies is very slight, save for the Lessons. But both in the Gallican rites and at Rome the typical Western aspect of commemoration is emphasized. Nevertheless, Brilioth recognizes that both also present striking contrasts: for example,

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[18] Ibid., pp. 93 f.

the Roman rite is simple and direct in its expression, while the Gallican is ornate and wordy.[19]

Both these scholars have presented rather convincing arguments, and as a layman I cannot help feeling that there are elements of truth in both their views. The primacy of Milan during the fourth century is an undisputed fact, as well as the rise of the Gallican variants at about that time. Might we not suppose that in his main outlines Duchesne is right, although we also hold that the existence of seasonal variation, for example, and other Western features, shows that Eastern importations under Auxentius did not obliterate the essentially Western nature of the Gallican rites. Fortunately or unfortunately, according to one's point of view, this whole question deals with only a passing phenomenon, since the Gallican rites were destined in time almost to disappear, together with the memory even of Milanese dominance in the West, before the growing strength and honor of Rome.

This was still in the future. From the fourth to the eighth centuries the Gallican liturgies were to be found over most of Western Europe, as we have seen, and in Spain, where they centered at Toledo and were described by the term Mozarabic, they were preserved for a longer time than elsewhere down to the present. In other countries, gradually the

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[19] Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 71 ff.

process of decline set in. As the Roman use became more ordered and regulated under the influence of such pontiffs as St. Gregory, the Gallican use became more confused and disordered by contrast; soon we find Gallican bishops, especially in France, writing to Rome for guidance in the settling of certain liturgical questions. In England, from the time of the mission of St. Augustine of Canterbury in 597, an open conflict between the Roman rite and that form of the Gallican liturgy known as the Celtic rite quickly arose. By the time of Archbishop Theodore a little less than one hundred years later the Roman use had practically triumphed in England itself, and while Gallican details were to be found in English services, there was from the first a strong "ultramontane" tendency represented a little later by such figures as St. Wilfrid and St. Boniface.

In France the growth of Roman influence was steady if gradual. St. Boniface here gave a strong impulse to it during his missionary work on the German borders in the early years of the eighth century, and around 750 the Church of Metz (Lorraine) accepted the Roman liturgy. Shortly after this Pepin the Short, mayor of the palace in the Frankish kingdom, abolished the Gallican liturgy throughout his country, one of the reasons for this action probably being the association of the old rite with the corruption and weakness of the Merovingian rule. There was no one strong ecclesiastical center in France to stand out against this

Rome-ward tendency as there was in Spain (Toledo) or in northern Italy (Milan), and the Carolingian monarchs, especially Pepin's son Charlemagne, worked in close collaboration with the popes. As we have seen in the case of the Gregorian Sacramentary, there was a fairly constant flow of Roman texts to the royal chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, where under the direction of the scholar Alcuin the Roman liturgy was adapted for Frankish use and disseminated throughout Charlemagne's newly-won dominions. None could stand against the combined power of Pope and Emperor, and in time the use of Aix-la-Chapelle itself returned to Rome and influenced its parent, the ancient Roman liturgy.[20]

From various sources, such as the Letters of St. Germain and the text of the Missale Gothicum, we can gain some idea of what a Gallican Mass would have been like during the period from the fifth to the eighth centuries, as it might have taken place at Milan, Lyons, Toledo, or Paris. First the bishop made his entrance to the singing of an antiphon called at Milan the Ingressa, and at Toledo the Officium. After he had saluted the congregation there occurred the singing of three introductory canticles: the Trisagion (from the East), or the Gloria in excelsis at Milan and Toledo, the Kyrie eleison (as an independent chant, not connected with a Litany), and the Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, called the

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[20]Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 96-105.

Prophetia. Then came the variable Collecta post prophetiam, and we shall see that the prayers of the Gallican Mass are for the most part a series of Collects, which all change according to the season or the feast. This Collect concludes the introductory material which had already begun to be added to the Liturgy in most areas.

Then follows our familiar series of Lessons and Chants. The Lessons were three in number, the first being taken from the Old Testament and known as the Lectio prophetica, save during Eastertide, when the Acts of the Apostles and the Apocalypse were read instead. Then usually followed the Hymn of the Three Children (Benedicite omnia opera Domini), followed in its turn by a Respond chant. The order of these parts varied: sometimes the Hymn and the Respond were deferred until after the next Lesson, that from the Epistles. Then, after another chant, came the Gospel, the Homily, and a deacon's Litany of the Eastern type, concluded by a Collecta post precem: these last two items represented the common prayers of the people. The dismissal of the catechumens which immediately followed brings us to the end of the Synaxis.

The Procession of the Oblation introduces the Eucharist proper: this is essentially the Byzantine Great Entrance, the elements even having similarly been prepared before the service. During this Entrance occurred the singing of a hymn, called the Sonus or the Laudes. Then, when the

Oblation had been placed on the altar, the celebrant read the Collecta super sidonem, the prayer of the veil which referred to that fine silk veil which covered the Elements. Then came the reading of the Diptychs, the names of those to be specially remembered at the service, followed in its turn by a Collecta post nomina. The Kiss of peace then follows here, as at Constantinople, instead of at the beginning of the Eucharist proper. When the Kiss of peace had been given, followed by the Collecta post pacem, the time was come for the Eucharistic prayer, called in France the Contestatio or Immolatio, and in Spain the Illatio. Here we come face to face with the Western peculiarity mentioned before: this great prayer itself is really only a succession of short prayers, in the Gallican rite still changing with the season. The Preface was followed by the Sanctus, then came the Collecta post Sanctus, the Qui pridie prayer containing the words of Institution, and the Collecta post Secreta containing an Invocation of the Holy Ghost (another Eastern feature, possibly, as we shall see). Then came the solemn breaking of the bread, the Fraction, in which the particles were arranged like a cross, and during which was sung a chant called the Confractorium. The Lord's Prayer followed, after which the celebrant placed a particle of the bread into the cup: this was the Commixtio. A Benediction of the people by the celebrant came next, and then the Communion itself.

During the Communion the choir sang the Trecanum or antiphon at the Communion. An example of this chant from an Irish book is the familiar hymn, "Draw near and take the Body of the Lord" (No. 202 in the 1940 Hymnal). Thanksgiving closed the service: the celebrant called the people to give thanks in the post-Communionem, after which he read the Collecta post Communionem, and then dismissed the people with a form which varied from Spain to Ireland: Missa acta est - In pace. It remains to be said that the Gallican Mass was everywhere in Latin, a fact to which further reference will be made below.[21]

The Roman Liturgy

We now come to the question of the origin of the Roman rite as we have it in the local liturgy of the city of Rome and the surrounding territory. At the outset we must recall that our evidence comes from a time at least one hundred years later than that which we have for the Eastern rites, and by this time the whole liturgical situation has had new influences brought to bear upon it. These are the main differences of the Roman rite from those of the East: the absence of all Litanies of intercession, the small part played by the deacon, the position of the Kiss of peace immediately before the Communion instead of before the Eucharist as a whole, the

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[21] Duchesne, op. cit., chapter vii, pp. 189 ff.

absence of an explicit Invocation of the Holy Ghost (in spite of Hippolytus), and a different position for the Intercessions in the Canon. The Roman Canon itself furnishes for the scholars the most difficult problem of the Roman rite, in the form of these two questions: where has the Invocation disappeared (if there ever was an Invocation), and what was the original position of the Intercessions in the Canon? The Gelasian Sacramentary gives us our earliest complete text of the Canon: it is essentially that of the Roman Canon today, although this Sacramentary dates from the seventh century. What happened to the Canon in the years between St. Justin Martyr or Hippolytus the bishop and the Gelasian Sacramentary? This is the period about which we are almost completely in the dark.[22]

A few landmarks can be discerned. The first is the change from Greek as the language of worship to Latin, probably during the third and early fourth centuries, and later than in the rest of the West because of the conservatism of the Roman Church. Then we know that St. Gregory the Great (590-604) worked on the Liturgy, modifying the Canon to a form substantially as we have it today, placing the Lord's Prayer immediately after it (possibly according to Eastern precedent), and giving evidence as to the origin of the present Roman use

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[22] Fortescue, op. cit., pp. 110 ff.

of the old Litany response Kyrie eleison.[23] The Leonine Sacramentary of course gives us no information as to the Canon, but scholars have supposed that it probably contained the same prayers in a different order.

On this whole vexing question of the order of the Canon, Fortescue feels that the solution of Dr. Paul Drews, a German Protestant scholar, is probably the best.[24] Drews maintains that the Roman Mass belongs to the same Jerusalem-Antioch family as the Apostolic Constitutions and the Liturgy of St. James, so that he supposes all the Roman prayers are to be arranged in the Jerusalem order. The result when applied to the Roman Canon is as follows:

(Transition from Sanctus . . .	Quam oblationem)	(5)
(1) The Institution	Qui pridie	(6)
(2) The Memorial	Unde et memores	(7)
(3) The Invocation (?)	(Supra quae	(8)
	(Supplices te rogamus	(9)
(4) The Intercession	(Te igitur	(1)
	(Memento vivorum	(2)
	(Communicantes	(3)
	(Memento defunctorum	(10)
	(Nobis quoque	(11)
(5) The Doxology	Per quem haec omnia	(12)

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[23] Ibid., pp. 135 f., p. 172.

[24] Ibid., pp. 156 ff.

The first part of the prayer Hanc igitur (4) is thought to be composed of the same material as the Quam oblationem, while its second part duplicates the material of Nobis quoque: consequently Drews omits it from his scheme as a rather clumsy effort to patch up the rearranged Canon.[25] Compare this outline with Hippolytus.

When did the Roman Canon depart from this order? Obviously before St. Gregory the Great the change had been made, and from a letter of Pope Innocent I (around 416) it seems that it had not yet been made in his time: thus we may believe that during the middle years of the fifth century the outline of the Roman Canon was latered. Why? Fortescue thinks that Dr. Drews's explanation is most probable: that it was to conform to the customs of Alexandria, between which city and Rome an alliance had existed before 450. An Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria spent many years at Rome in exile from the Monophysites, and at this time Pope Gelasius (492-496) was influenced, so it is supposed, to move the Intercessions to a place before the Consecration after the Alexandrian model.[26] This theory has been severely criticised, and Dix's book shows that the problem is not at all

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[25] Ibid., pp. 160 ff., p. 163. A copy of the Roman Missal in Latin and English would be useful as a reference here. Numbers in parentheses following the Latin prayers refer to the prayer's present position in the Roman Canon.

[26] Ibid., pp. 164 ff.

settled.[27] As to the absence of an Invocation, this feature is shrouded in mystery. The nearest scholars have been able to arrive at a solution is a suggested re-phrasing of the Supra quae and Supplices te rogamus prayers of the Canon; other scholars, such as Dix, do not think that the Roman Canon ever had an Invocation at all.[28]

Our description of the Roman Mass is derived from the Ordines Romani of the eighth or ninth centuries.[29] The entry of the officiating priests was accompanied by the singing of the Antiphonarium ad introitum, originally a complete psalm. The service proper began with introductory chants as in the Gallican rites: at Rome these were the Kyrie eleison and the Gloria in excelsis, which made their appearance from the East at different times. While in the Greek rites the Kyrie was the fixed response to the Litany prayer, in the Latin rites the Kyrie seems to have been an introductory and concluding dialogue to the Litany, whose fixed response consisted of other phrases (such as Exaudi nos, Domine). The dialogue was thus like this: Kyrie eleison, R. Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison. The invocation of Christ is distinctively Western. The Gloria in excelsis was also Greek in origin, and was first used, appropriately enough, in the Roman Mass

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[27] Dix, op. cit., see chapter viii.

[28] Ibid., pp. 275 ff. passim.

[29] Duchesne, op. cit., pp. 161 ff.

at the celebration of the Nativity of Christ. For a long time its use was restricted to bishops. After the chants came the first of the solemn Collect prayers, of which there were always three in the Roman Mass, in distinction to the many in the Gallican rites. This Oratio ad collectam Duchesne explains as being so-called because it was said when the people had fully assembled together, although we have already noted another interpretation of the word Collecta.

The series of lessons and chants followed as in the Eastern and Gallican rites. Roman peculiarities seem to have been that the Old Testament Lesson disappeared by the sixth century except for certain days. This caused the Gradual Psalms to be shifted to a point between the Epistle and Gospel just before the Alleluia chant. There seems to have been no Homily at Rome itself, and no dismissal of the catechumens. The prayers of the faithful had also disappeared, but a trace of them is seen in the bidding Dominus vobiscum: Et cum spiritu tuo, followed by Oremus, but no prayers!

The action of bringing up and placing upon the altar the bread and wine went on during the singing of a psalm called the Offertorium. There was no earlier preparation of the elements, and no Great Entrance, nor were there any specific prayers of offering at this time. After the elements had been offered, the celebrant said secretly, while the Psalm was still being sung, the second solemn Collect prayer, the

Oratio super Oblata or Secreta. This done, the time had now arrived for the Eucharistic prayer itself. This may be divided into three parts according to the Roman usage: the dialogue or Sursum Corda; the Preface, which varied with the season; and the Canon, which comes to us in its present form from the late sixth century. The problems connected with the Roman Canon have already been discussed, and we shall be content with giving its outline as it stood in the eighth century, and as we now have it.

(1) Intercessions: Te igitur, Memento Domine, Communicantes, and Hanc igitur;

(2) The Institution: Quam oblationem, Qui pridie;

(3) The Memorial: Unde et memores;

(4) Prayers of Oblation: Supra quae propitio, Supplices te rogamus;

(5) Intercessions (continued): Memento etiam (of the departed), Nobis quoque;

(6) The Doxology: Per quem haec omnia.

Note the divided Intercessions and the absence of the Invocation.

The ceremony of the Fraction was introduced by several liturgical items: the Lord's Prayer, placed here by St. Gregory himself as we have noticed; an Embolismus or prayer expanding the final clause of the Lord's Prayer (Libera nos, quaesumus); and the Kiss of peace. During the actual ceremony of the Fraction was sung the Agnus Dei, introduced by

Pope Sergius around 690. Then followed the Communion of priest and people, accompanied by a Communion chant. The final portion of the service was brief, in accordance with Roman liking for simplicity and directness; it consisted of the third solemn Collect prayer, the Oratio post Communio, and the dismissal of the people with the words Ite missa est (Go, it is the dismissal), to which they answered Deo gratias. This dismissal formula varied in penitential seasons, because at that time further prayers were said, hence the formula was Benedicamus Domino (Let us bless the Lord). At Rome itself the Pope blessed the people as he was borne on his throne out of the church.[30]

In summary, we may note that the pure Roman elements of the Liturgy were these: Introit, Collect, Epistle, Gradual, Alleluia, Gospel, Offertory chant, Secreta, Preface, Sanctus-Benedictus, and Canon, Lord's Prayer and Embolismus, Kiss of peace, Communion chant, Post-Communion Collect, and Dismissal. The brevity of this outline is to be contrasted with the elaborate Gallican order: possibly this was an item in favor of the Roman liturgy's spread over Gallican territory. To the Roman rite by the time of St. Gregory or soon after had been added the Kyrie and Gloria, and by the end of the seventh century the Agnus Dei.

The qualities of simplicity and directness which were so characteristic of the early Roman liturgy can best be seen in

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[30] Duchesne, op. cit., chapter vi, pp. 161 ff.

the solemn Collect prayers which occurred three times in the service. As the Roman rite moved out through Europe, however, and displaced the Gallican liturgies save in Toledo and Milan, it took unto itself elements both from these liturgies and from the East, and this process did not stop with the eighth century rite we have just described. A private preparation for the priest at the foot of the altar before the service, the singing of the Nicene Creed, placed just before the Offertory, the prayers at the Offertory, the ceremony of the Lavabo or hand-washing, and at the close of the service the prayer Placeat, the Blessing, and the Last Gospel: all these features of the modern Roman Mass were added throughout the Middle Ages, and in most cases were not regularized until 1570 after the onslaught of the Reformation. The Creed was introduced at Rome about the eleventh or twelfth centuries, while the last three items were unknown in England at least before the translation of the Mass into English.[31]

But other developments in the usage of the Liturgy in the West were not so desirable. At the date of our description of the Roman Mass, the service known as High Mass, with full music, ceremonial, and the full complement of ministers, was the normal observance, as it is today in the Eastern Orthodox Communion. But when the idea of the Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice grew up in the West, the desire for as many Masses as could be had arose. It became customary for

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[31]Fortescue, op. cit., pp. 183 f.

the priest to say his Mass every day instead of only on Sundays and Feast Days, and obviously the full service was not always available under those conditions. Hence the development of that form of service known as Low Mass.[32]

> Each Mass as a propitiatory sacrifice has a definate value before God; therefore two Masses are worth twice as much as one:[33]

this was the medieval idea about the Eucharist, and went hand in hand with conceptions of purgatory and the value of the Mass in relieving the pain of souls therein. The Low Mass, said entirely by one priest with a server, led to the appearance of the Missal which we described earlier, with all the different parts of the Mass gathered into one volume. A further development was the Missa Cantata, sung by one priest: this was a hybrid service, a compromise between the High Mass and the Low celebration.[34]

By the eleventh and the twelfth centuries the Roman rite was supreme in Western Europe except at Milan and Toledo: nevertheless geographical differences in the Roman service as it originally grew up developed into what are known as the medieval derived rites. These are not on a par with the liturgical families which we have described, the Gallican and Eastern liturgies, but instead constitute a midway point between these independent rites and the rigid

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[32] Ibid., pp. 184 ff.

[33] Ibid., p. 187.

[34] Ibid., pp. 189 ff.

uniformity which obtains in the modern Roman communion. Variations among the derived rites occurred in such matters as the observance of local feasts, the use of symbolic ceremonies, additional prayers, proper Prefaces, Sequences, and the arrangement of Lectionaries. An example of a derived rite, that form of the Roman liturgy used throughout the greater part of the British Isles, is to be seen in the rite of Salisbury, the usus Sarum, which has so large a bearing on subsequent Anglican liturgical history. It cannot be too strongly stressed that the Sarum rite was Roman in structure and content for by far its greater part. Its variations from the Roman rite as the latter is to be found in the Missal of 1570, the standard modern Roman text, are as follows:

(1) Observance of local English feasts;

(2) Use of certain of the proper chants (Introits, Graduals, and the like) peculiar to itself;

(3) Numbering of the summer and autumn Sundays after Trinity instead of after Pentecost: this was in accordance with northern European practice, and was followed in Scandinavia, Germany, and the Netherlands, where the Feast of the Trinity originated, as well as in England;

(4) A Kiss of peace given at the beginning of the service as the priest went up to the altar;

(5) Different prayers at the Offertory and the Communion;

(6) No Blessing at the end of the service;

(7) Distinctive ceremonial and ornaments.

The Sarum rite was not used by Roman Catholics after 1570, and Roman liturgical scholars and writers in general tend to deprecate its importance for liturgical history. This may be true for the larger picture, but for Anglicans the Sarum Mass remains the immediate forebear of their present liturgies, the form in which the Roman liturgy was known in Britain before the Reformation: as such it possesses all the importance, the virtues and the failings, of both the Roman origin and of the later Anglican use.[35]

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[35] Ibid., pp. 199 ff. It must be remembered that Fortescue is a Roman Catholic scholar.

CHAPTER IV

ELEMENTS OF THE CLASSICAL LITURGIES

We have now arrived at a second turning point in the development of the Liturgy. The first such turning point was when the observance of the early Apostolic Church settled down in the key cities of the Roman Empire and took on the varying aspects of the local use: this began roughly about the beginning of the fourth century. The second turning point, lasting from about 1450 for the next one hundred years, sees in the East the Liturgy driven underground once more, this time by the Turks, save in Russia; while in the West the Roman rite will find itself challenged by the uses growing out of the Protestant Reformation.

It seems, therefore, a good place to stop briefly in this study and note the main characteristics of the Liturgy itself: what religious thoughts it expresses on the part of celebrant and worshippers and what are the essential elements in this expression. It will be remembered in this regard that there is also the outline of the liturgical action itself to be considered, that "Shape of the Liturgy" which Dix has described as consisting of Offering, Eucharistic prayer, Fraction, and Communion. It has been apparent from the descriptions of the various rites that this four-fold action is still preserved, but again we ask, what are the religious elements which it expresses?

The Eucharistic prayer gives us the first and perhaps the basic one of the religious elements of the Liturgy: Thanksgiving. This element as we have seen was particularly prominent in the early rites, in the Didache, in the liturgical indications of St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the writings of St. Justin Martyr. The name "Eucharist" itself expresses clearly this aspect, and soon the word had become attached to the prayer which forms the second part of the fourfold liturgical action. Two types of Thanksgiving are to be found in the classical Eucharistic prayers: Thanksgiving for man's creation, and Thanksgiving for his redemption by Christ. As the centuries passed the element of Thanksgiving to a certain extent gave way to the Memorial and Sacrificial aspects which we shall shortly consider, but the chants, and especially the Sanctus and Benedictus qui venit, where the twofold type of Thanksgiving is best expressed, still enshrined this element as a most essential and important part of the Liturgy.[1]

The second liturgical element to be dealt with is that of Memorial, going back to that strand of tradition which bears witness to Christ's command, "Do this in remembrance of me." This is where the Christian religion, in its highest act of worship as elsewhere, reveals its fundamentally

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[1] Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 18 ff., p. 23; see also Evelyn Underhill, Worship (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1937), pp. 141 f.

historical character. The remembrance of Christ, and especially of his passion and death, links the rite with actual historical events. The Didache as we have seen had very little of this historical aspect, but St. Justin Martyr and all our other texts reveal it clearly. The Eucharist itself became a commemoration of the whole Incarnate Life, and later devotional writers, particularly in the Eastern Orthodox Churches, have been fond of seeing in the course of the service a re-enactment of our Lord's earthly life and his mighty redemptive acts. In addition to the recital of the words of Institution in the Eucharistic prayer, the element of Memorial is also fully brought out in the reading of the Lessons from the New Testament, in which the life of Christ and the experience of the historical Church are both so vividly set forth. In this regard the loss of the fuller contribution of the Old Testament Lesson is a serious one. Other Memorial features are to be found in the observance of the Christian Year, particularly in its fuller Western form, and in the remembrance of the living and the departed in the Intercession.[2] To sum it all up, the Memorial element helps to safeguard that most important historical reality of Christianity in its worship: the remembrance of events that actually happened in time.[3]

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[2] Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 34, 37 ff.

[3] Underhill, op. cit., p. 145.

Closely allied to the Memorial element of the Eucharist is the element of Sacrifice, of Offering. In the Eucharist our remembrance is above all of Christ's one perfect Offering of his life in his passion, death, resurrection, and heavenly session. Western thinking has always tended to dwell particularly upon the Crucifixion, but for both East and West the Sacrifice of Christ is the one Sacrifice of their religion, bringing into focus all the teaching and observance of the Old Testament. There is little of explicit sacrificial reference in the New Testament descriptions of the Eucharist, save in the use of the word "Do" ("Do this in remembrance of me": Greek poieite, which had a sacrificial connotation in the Greek Old Testament), and in the action of Jesus himself.[4] We must also note St. Paul's saying, "So oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye do show the Lord's death till he comes" (I Corinthians 11:26). These words link the Eucharist itself to our Lord's Sacrifice: they show that the Eucharist is itself "a perpetual memory of the sacrifice of the death of Christ."[5] The classical Greek word for sacrifice (thusia) is first used of the Eucharist in the Didache (chapter 14), but this interpretation is not felt by some authors to be clearly established, and they feel that not until St. Cyprian do we have an

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[4] Brilioth, op. cit., p. 43.

[5] J. K. Mozley, "I Corinthians," A New Commentary, p. 504.

explicit reference to a Eucharistic Sacrifice. However, St. Justin uses Old Testament sacrificial language, St. Irenaeus speaks of the bread and wine in sacrificial terms, and so do the Apostolic Constitutions.[6] From these ideas the concept developed of offering the Body and Blood of Christ at the Eucharist, and St. Cyprian seems plainly to be the first to express this idea. Nevertheless even in his time the Mass still has no value of its own apart from Christ's Sacrifice: "the passion of the Lord is the Sacrifice which we offer." St. Augustine states the matter thus: the Communion of the people is a "safeguard against the degradation of the (Eucharistic) act to the pagan level." He teaches that the Eucharistic Sacrifice is a "Memorial, the showing forth of Christ's death," and in this we see that he stays close to St. Paul. It is important to stress this notion: the Eucharist cannot be separated from the act of Christ. And in addition we shall see also how careful we must be never to isolate and exaggerate this or any other of the Eucharistic liturgical elements in their relation to the others, for in so doing lies danger.[7]

From Sacrifice we turn to the element of Communion, of Fellowship, one of the earliest of the elements since it was at some sort of fellowship meal, whether seder or chaburah,

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[6] Brilioth, op. cit., p. 45.

[7] Ibid., pp. 47 f.

that our Lord instituted the Eucharist. The element of Communion may be broken down into two "sub-elements": Communion with the Risen Lord, and Communion with fellow Christians. In the early Church these two ideas were not necessarily in contrast, but they later became separated in the thinking of the Church, and to the former element of Communion with the Risen Lord Brilioth gives the name of Mystery-Presence.[8] The basic fellowship element, particularly as regards the fellowship of Christians, was to be found in the common meal which was retained for about two centuries after the beginning of Christianity in the form of the agapae observances. This meal disappeared in the West before it did in the East, but three Communion-fellowship features remained in the Eucharist itself. The first of these is the Common prayer, especially in the form of Litanies and Intercessions for the catechumens and the faithful. Then there is the Kiss of peace, a ceremonial custom which expressed most vividly the fellowship of Christian people in love. In time, however, in the West, the ceremony degenerated into the kissing of a "Pax board," which was passed to the people to be kissed by them in order of their social precedence. The mad scramble to be the first to kiss the board was almost a direct contradiction of the original purpose of the ceremony. The third aspect of Communion-fellowship is to be found in the act of Communion

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[8] Ibid., p. 27.

itself, the common reception of the consecrated Bread and Wine; this has been called the "chief expression of the sense of Christian fellowship," an act "more expressive than words."[9] The act of Communion itself is an integral part of the Liturgy for celebrant and people alike; nonetheless it began to decline in use as the Middle Ages advanced, and most people received the Communion perhaps only once a year. But St. Augustine is not one to pass over this element of Communion-fellowship in the Eucharist: he speaks of the Eucharist itself as the "Sacrament of unity." It is also interesting to recall that the phrase "The Communion of Saints" (Communio Sanctorum) in the Apostles' Creed might very possibly mean instead "The Communion of Holy Things," and refer to the Eucharist under this Fellowship aspect.[10]

As we have mentioned, Brilioth makes a separate element of the Eucharist out of the "sub-element" of Fellowship with the Risen Lord: this he calls the element of Mystery-Presence. I disagree with the division he makes for this reason: the element of Mystery and of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament under the forms of bread and wine (that which we mean by the term "Real Objective Presence") cannot without danger be separated even by so much from the act and the thought of Communion. The result of such a separation as

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[9] Ibid., p. 32.

[10] Ibid., p. 33.

Brilioth appears to make is apt to be an over-emphasis on the Presence, and from there the step to extra-liturgical devotions paid to the Blessed Sacrament , Benediction, and Adoration, is an easy one. The purpose for which the Lord's Supper was ordained is that of strengthening our souls by the grace of God given to us in the Communion, and we must not pervert the Sacrament to any other subsidiary and erroneous uses.

The "sub-element" of Mystery, however, is a real one, and in dealing with it Brilioth raises several points. He discusses the question of the supposed affinity between the Eucharist and the heathen mystery religions. While there are surface similarities, he agrees, between the two observances, there are also very strong contrasts between them, and these contrasts lead him to state this conclusion, which I feel is well-founded:

> The attempt to derive baptism and the Eucharist directly from heathen rites is now seen to be one of the freaks of historical scholarship and a symptom of a childish ailment which is not uncommon in young sciences.[11]

The contrasts are those which exist between myth and history, and between the respective attitudes of the two types of religion. The mystery cults were tolerant of each other, and syncretism flourished among them; Christianity, on the other

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[11] Ibid., p. 49.

hand, acted on the basis of intolerance - and intolerance won the day for it.[12]

The idea of Mystery is also strong in the New Testament, as Brilioth has pointed out, and it may be divided into two forms: again, the Pauline and the Johannine. The former teaches the idea that in the Eucharistic meal the Christians experience the presence of the Lord and are in communion (koinonia) with him. This presence is likewise associated with the bread and wine as a result of Jesus's act at the Last Supper, although there is no idea of a natural or localized presence.[13]

> Yet since the presence is associated with the elements, the repetition of the Lord's action in the Church's Eucharist makes really present that which his action at the Supper symbolized - his self-oblation to death; and the elements thus guarantee the connection of the rite not merely with the historical Saviour, but with his finished work of redemption.[14]

And finally,

> ....the act of eating and drinking must express the receiving of the wholeness of his nature, and the fruits of his redemptive work,

thus forming a link with the second type of New Testament Mystery-Presence emphasis.

This second type, the Johannine, is marked chiefly by its view of the bread and wine as themselves channels of

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[12] Ibid., pp. 50 f.
[13] Ibid., pp. 55 f.
[14] Ibid., p. 56.

grace in Communion. The whole feeling inclines toward individualism, while the Pauline type has corporate and fellowship aspects in a marked degree. Yet the Johannine type is still "anchored in the historical Incarnation," and the Fourth Gospel itself is the "fountainhead" of what is known as Incarnational theology.

> The Johannine type is dominated by a mystical sacramentalism, or by what we may call the idea of "inflowing" grace.....The question is whether Christianity can be stated in terms of the immanental-mystical type of religion. May we not say that the Fourth Gospel and the true heirs of its tradition have proved the possibility of such a statement, by anchoring the timeless mysticism of this type of religion to the historical fact of the Incarnation, and that this is what is expressed in the Sacramental Presence of the Divine Life in the Eucharistic elements?15

My answer to Brilioth's somewhat rhetorical question would be one of assent, with the additional comment that both types of New Testament thought along these lines represent each a facet of the whole which is the Eucharist. They are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary, and reveal something of the richness and variety of the full Christian worship and life.

Brilioth goes on to trace the later development of this side of the Communion element by showing that although the early Fathers, and especially the Greeks, are mostly in the Johannine stream, the liturgies, true to the Christian spirit,

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15 Ibid., p. 58.

combine both sides, Pauline and Johannine alike. An interesting example in the actual practice of the Church is the custom of veiling the altar from the congregation, carrying out the idea of secrecy stressed by some of the later Fathers. This same practice is also reflected in the use of the medieval screen in front of the choir, and the Orthodox ikonostasis behind which the holy Mysteries are celebrated.[16]

We have drawn rather heavily upon Brilioth in this section of our study, and my apology for so doing is simply that he has so clearly and vividly set forth these basic elements of the Liturgy as they are related to religious thought in general. How may we combine his insights with those of Dix regarding the Eucharistic action? To recall, the action is one of Offering, Eucharistic prayer, Fraction, and Communion: the elements are those of Thanksgiving, Memorial, Sacrifice (Offering), and Communion (Fellowship). It is well to point out first that the Eucharist itself is the Church's "representation before God" of Christ's "perfect self-offering," and also it is the Church's own "self-offering and that of each of her members in and with Christ her Head."[17] These statements start the whole thing off: they begin the action with the thought of Christ's self-offering and that of the Church. Thus the Eucharist is a two-fold action of revelation

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[16] Ibid., pp. 59 f.

[17] Underhill, op. cit., pp. 148 f.

and worship, the creaturely response to that revelation which is as real a self-disclosure of God as when Christ walked the hills of Galilee.

> The real starting point of the Christian mystery is not a memorial of a Death (only), but the recognition of an enduring Life;

a Life revealed to us in the Eucharist as well as in the Gospels, and of whose benefits we partake in the Communion.[18]

Mention of the Gospel reminds us that very early the Church recognized the worth of the written record of the revelation as well as the sacramental revelation by introducing the Eucharist proper with the "Word of God" service. Here again the Eucharist is a two-fold act of worship, this time in its course of action in time, as the service itself is performed. Each of these two actions comes to a climax corresponding to one of the "two supreme self-disclosures of God to man." The Gospel Lesson expresses the self-disclosure in history by the reading of that record of the self-disclosure; the Eucharist proper expresses the self-disclosure in the present through the performance of the Eucharistic action and the complete participation therein through Communion of all the worshippers.[19]

Gathering all these thoughts together enables us to form

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[18] Ibid., p. 152.

[19] Evelyn Underhill, The Mystery of Sacrifice (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938), pp. 1 f.

something of an outline of the complete Liturgy, a task toward which Miss Underhill in her little devotional book, The Mystery of Sacrifice, had already shown us the way. The first main section is that of Preparation, which in its turn is divided into subordinate sections: Penitence (expressed by the Collect for purity, the Decalogue, and the Kyries in the Anglican rite), and Instruction (the "Word of God" service). The true beginning of the Eucharist is, of course, at the Offertory, and flowing out of this section is the Intercession, the remembrance of those for whom we offer, the whole estate of Christ's Church. With the fourth section, Consecration, the human action of preparation and offering falls away (somewhat to paraphrase Miss Underhill's language), and God takes over.[20] The Eucharistic prayer gathers up "all the strands of man's Godward life," and sets them forth in a three-fold pattern: to God the Father as Creator in the Preface; to God the Son as Redeemer in the Institution and Oblation; and to God the Holy Ghost as Sanctifier in the Invocation. Finally the Communion, which, as Miss Underhill also stresses, should never be separated from the Liturgy, completes the service.[21] Thus we have the outline:

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[20] Ibid., p. 20.

[21] Ibid., p. 39.

Action:	Element
(1) Preparation: "Word of God" . . .	Memorial
(2) Offering	Sacrifice
(3) Eucharistic Prayer	Thanksgiving - Memorial - Sacrifice - Presence
(4) Fraction	Memorial
(5) Communion	Communion - Fellowship - Presence

It will be seen that Miss Underhill's treatment is based in large part on our own Anglican liturgy, the rite which is the very raison d'etre of our study. It is apparently high time that we begin the account of the immediate origins of our rite, and something of the history of its development. Let it be stated at the outset, however, that we do not accept for a moment the idea put forward by most Roman Catholic writers that the Anglican rite is a new or synthetic product of the Reformation. We have tried to show by the foregoing analysis of the ancient rites that our liturgy has its roots there also; accordingly, we turn now to the Reformation to trace its further development through those stormy days and beyond down to our own time.

CHAPTER V

THE REFORMATION AND AFTER

The chief development to be observed in the western Liturgy throughout the Middle Ages is one of increasing dislocation of its classic elements. The element of Thanksgiving had almost entirely disappeared from the Canon, and even the Prefaces were toned down, although Thanksgiving had a place at other points in the service. But the use of Low Mass covered up everything in the silent action of the priest at the altar, his back turned toward the people throughout the service. The element of Communion likewise had almost disappeared: there was no longer any Litany prayer, no actual Kiss of peace (but a debased form of it in the use of the Pax board), and a striking rarity of communions by the people. Communion was received on the average once a year, at Easter, and with the removal of the chalice from the laity the very act itself was mutilated. The only aspect of the Communion element left was that of common worship on Sundays at the Mass.[1]

The element of Memorial was also overshadowed, this time by the use of a dead language, Latin, for the actual rite. Lessons and Collects, recalling the movement of the Christian

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[1] Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 78 ff.

Year, were lost to those who could no longer understand the language in which they were read. Fortunately the ceremonial acts at different times of the year, the processions, Holy Week observances, and the like, prevented too much loss of the Memorial element, and books of devotion for the laity were fond of allegorizing the different parts of the Mass to fit the periods in Christ's life, as we have seen.[2]

But all these elements yielded place to that of Sacrifice. Sacrifice greatly overbalanced the Roman liturgy, and this loss of proper balance inevitably led to serious abuses. In the thought of the theologians and the Fathers from St. Gregory the Great on down this tendency increased. St. Gregory himself saw the Eucharist as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, a repetition of Calvary for the forgiveness of sins. The danger of considering the Eucharist as an act of magic, a coercion of God by man, was always near, and the fears of purgatory and hell in the hearts of the people only increased it.[3]

A second doctrinal factor also brought a new stress on the Mystery-Presence element as well as on that of Sacrifice. This was the promulgation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation in 1215 at the Lateran Council, and came at the end of a long controversy over the mode of the presence of Christ's

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[2] Ibid., pp. 82 ff.

[3] Ibid., pp. 84 ff.

Body and Blood in the Consecrated Elements. In order to avoid the materialism of much popular thinking of the time, the scholastic theologians taught that the substance of Christ's Body and Blood took the place of the substance of the bread and wine, while all the physical and chemical properties of the latter (the accidents) remained. Their endeavor, however, was a failure, and it soon was apparent that Transubstantiation only gave official sanction to much of that carnal thinking about the Sacrament which they had tried to avoid.[4] In addition, it made the center of the Eucharist the localized presence of Christ in the Elements, and encouraged the worship of the Host both inside and outside the service. The institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi appeared in 1264, with its ceremonial processions of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of the medieval towns; the custom of elevating the Host at the words of Institution became widespread, and later obligatory; the people began to feel encouraged to make their private devotions before the reserved Sacrament in the church, that Sacrament which had hitherto been reserved solely for the purpose of giving Communion to the sick. The elements of Mystery and Sacrifice became isolated from all the others. For most people they constituted the entire meaning of the Eucharist, and popular worship degenerated into a merely passive act of

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[4] Ibid., p. 87.

looking on.

On the Continent

It was against all this system that the Reformers reacted: once the evils of the purgatory-indulgence traffic were brought out into the open, the Mass was bound to be subjected to searching scrutiny, and all its abuses ruthlessly cut out. Martin Luther made his first attack on the Mass in a sermon in April of 1520, and continued it in his pamphlet On the Babylonish Captivity later in the same year. He lists three objections to the Mass as it then stood: Communion in one kind, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the doctrine of the Eucharist as a propitiatory Sacrifice.[5] Luther was concerned with practical abuses in the Saxony of his day, but not yet was he ready to alter the essential structure or meaning of the Liturgy. The next step in this direction was taken by his confrere Carlstadt, who, on Christmas Day of 1521 held an "evangelical Mass" in the Electoral Chapel at Wittenberg. This man announced that

> a religion of the spirit can find no place for external actions as causes in the realm of grace. They can only be tokens of a reality accomplished independently of them.[6]

Luther appears to have been "horrified" at this logical development of his doctrine of justification by faith only, and

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[5] Dix, op. cit., p. 629.

[6] Ibid., p. 631.

when in January of 1522 the altars and images of Wittenberg were pillaged, and the Peasants' Revolt came out into the open, he laid aside his ideas for a time.

Carlstadt's lead rather was followed by Ulrich Zwingli in Switzerland, whose doctrine of the Sacraments leaves them of no force whatever.

> They are bare signs or ceremonies by which a man assures other people rather than himself of his saving faith in Christ's redemption.[7]

The Eucharistic action is thus only a "vivid mental remembering of the passion as an achievement of 'my' redemption in the past." Zwingli introduced his reformed rite at Zurich in 1525.

The next father of the Reformation is John Calvin, and his Eucharistic doctrine is decidedly an improvement, but only an improvement, on that of Zwingli. For Calvin, Christ in the Eucharist gives his Spirit to the spirit of him who believes in him as Redeemer, and who "partakes of bread and wine as he had commanded."[8] The whole Eucharist is reduced to simply a Communion, even as Zwingli had reduced it to a mere remembrance. But Christ had said, "This is my Body," not "This is my Spirit." Calvin's teaching has been accused of individualism, and justly so, it would seem:

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[7] Ibid., p. 632.

[8] Ibid., p. 633.

> It is one more example of the intractability of the Scriptural Sacraments to the (pure) Protestant theory, and the impossibility of adapting to a religion of the spirit and pure individualism the institutions of a religion of Incarnation which presupposes the organic community of the renewed Israel.[9]

Modern Protestantism only pursues the trend to its logical conclusion in leaving the Sacraments "entirely on one side," and in trying to show that St. Paul was misled when he perverted "pure" Christianity into a sacramental mystery cult. Although Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin realized it only in partial degrees, their underlying mode of thought and view of man and the world was subjective and entirely individualistic. If man could reach his God directly by faith (in the subjective sense), what was the sense of having external rites which were necessary to salvation? They could not be necessary to salvation on this basis, hence they were not necessary at all, and it was only a question of time till they would pass out of a more spiritually developed Christianity.

But this is not the religion of the New Testament, which is, on the other hand, thoroughly sacramental in nature; and it was over this very question of the New Testament evidence on the Sacraments that the unity of the Reformation broke up. Luther, who thereby earned the accusation of inconsistency, held to the Sacraments through thick and thin, while Calvin

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[9] Ibid., p. 633.

followed Zwingli, with some modifications, toward the more subjective side.

Luther, however, did not cease to be a Protestant. He insisted that there was no Sacrifice in the Eucharist, but only an offering of prayers to God. The Body and Blood of Christ, according to him, were not offered by men to God, as the medieval thinkers had said, but were offered by Christ to men. The Church's part was simply to receive the action of Christ in their Communion. For Luther, it has been said, the end of religion is "not the worship of God, but the comfort of men," and the passage of time saw a steady decline in the Lutheran churches even of their own founder's teaching.[10] The subjective impulse was there, and the God-ward movement was eventually lost in a great concern for the man-ward emphasis.

Brilioth sees the Reformation as a reaction against the abuses of the preceding years, and an attempt at a return to the Pauline-Augustinian idea. He recognizes that Lutheranism kept much of the element of Mystery which the Calvinists lost, but he also realizes that Lutheranism lost the equally important element of Sacrifice. Memorial Sacrifice was utterly given up by Luther, and in the controversy of the time against sacrificial abuses, it was impossible, it would seem, to hold it.[11] The Reformers were possessed of a single idea

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[10] Ibid., pp. 635 ff.

[11] Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 97, 138 f.

"of great force": the conception of each soul's personal and individual relation to God.[12] This must be recognized as an aspect of religious truth. Where then did the Reformers fail? Why was it possible to lose the God-ward element of Sacrifice, of an offering made to God? Because the whole concept of the corporate action of the Church in worship, in company with its Lord, had itself been lost in the Middle Ages, when the people's part became a merely passive looking-on. The Reformers could not revive this corporate two-way action of the Liturgy because they had never known it; they were men of their time, and could only fly to the other end of the balance and stress one or the other of the remaining elements of the Liturgy (Memorial or Communion) at the expense of Sacrifice. The true balance remained upset.[13] The "Reformation" was instead simply a reaction against real abuses, a

> revenge of the....mass of the population upon the Church for its exclusion from an intelligent participation in its worship.[14]

In England: Cranmer

Even as Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli exemplify the Reformation on the Continent by their lives and works, so Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury from 1533 until 1553,

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[12] Dix, op. cit., pp. 637 f.
[13] Ibid., p. 638.
[14] Ibid., p. 627.

exemplifies it in its earlier stages in England. The Reformation in England itself may be viewed as a continuous movement, first ascending to its climax in 1552, then gradually receding to the present day. To the work of Cranmer, then, as it affected the Eucharist, we turn now. It remains to be said by way of introduction that Cranmer's hand still lies heavily on the Book of Common Prayer: its beautiful English and skillful liturgical construction and adaptation of the older rites form his most fitting and enduring monument.

In its liturgical and doctrinal aspects (aside from a few beginnings before), the English Reformation did not really begin until the death of Henry VIII in January of 1547. Immediately after this event, steps were taken which to those who could interpret them pointed toward a more drastic change in the life and worship of the Church. During the summer of 1547 royal commissioners were sent out on visitations to all parts of England to see how the land lay, and in the autumn of that year Cranmer addressed a questionnaire to the bishops concerning several disputed points of Eucharistic doctrine.[15] Here the use of the word "memory" had special significance: the memory of Christ's Sacrifice on Calvary being the key point in the discussion. The question was whether one remembered that Sacrifice in the mind only, or by an external action at the altar, which might or might not imply a repetition

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[15] Ibid., pp. 640 ff.

of that great Sacrifice.

In March of 1548 an Order of Communion was issued along with a direction for the restoration of the chalice to the laity. This Order was to be used immediately following the priest's Communion in the Sarum Mass, and was prefaced by a rather long Exhortation beginning "Dearly beloved, on _____ day next I purpose....," to be used when notice was given of Communion. The text of this Exhortation had certain Zwinglian overtones in such phrases as "to be taken of them in remembrance," or "whereof we be assured."[16] Private Confession was also made optional. The Order of Communion itself consisted of another long Exhortation ("Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come"), a short Exhortation or Invitation ("Ye that do truly and earnestly repent"), a public or general Confession, an Absolution, Comfortable Words, a Prayer before receiving Communion ("of humble access"), Sentences of administration, and, after the Communion, a sentence beginning "The peace of God which passeth all understanding" and ending with "and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord."

Where did these forms come from? They have definite links with two Lutheran liturgical compositions of the decade 1520-1530: Osiander's Brandenburg-Nurnemberg Kirchenordnung, and the Archbishop of Cologne's Consultatio. Cranmer himself was in Germany on a diplomatic mission in 1530, and it is

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[16] Ibid., p. 643.

thought that at this time he became familiar with Lutheranism, and stored up these forms in his mind for their future use.[17] They will be recognized as forming a part of our Liturgy today; they were, in fact, used by Cranmer without change of doctrinal teaching throughout his subsequent liturgical compositions, save for the omission of the words "in these holy mysteries" and "to drink his blood" in the Prayer later called "of Humble Access."

The new English liturgy, embodied in the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, came into use by Act of Parliament on Whitsunday, 1549. The Order of Communion was inserted just after the priest's Communion, where it had appeared in the Sarum Mass since the previous year. The order of this rite is substantially that of the medieval service, and its Prayer of Consecration has been called the "highest of all forms of the idea of Eucharistic Sacrifice."[18] For a long time men have seen in this service an evidence of Cranmer's Lutheran period as regards his Eucharistic thinking, and he has even been accused of vacillating from the Catholic to the Lutheran and then to the Reformed-Calvinist positions.

Dix, however, whom it will be noticed that we are using a great deal in this section of our study, feels that this charge levelled against Cranmer is unjust, and in a very

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[17] Ibid., pp. 644 f.

[18] Brilioth, op. cit., p. 204.

careful consideration of his writings on the subject Dix succeeds in showing, in my opinion, that from the beginning of his liturgical work Cranmer's Eucharistic doctrine was essentially Zwinglian, through the Order of 1548 and the First and Second Prayer Books of Edward VI. Dix uses Cranmer's Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament, which appeared in 1550, as an exposition of Cranmer's views, and the significant point in the argument is Cranmer's meaning when he speaks of "spiritually eating the Flesh" and "drinking the Blood of Christ." Dix feels that he uses these words in a peculiar sense of his own:

> He means by this 'thinking with faith that Christ died for my sins on Calvary' and nothing else but this.

What connection does this thought of Christ's death have with the Holy Communion? None at all, Dix concludes! The Supper was instituted only for man to remember the benefits he received from Christ's sacrifice, and to show to all the world that he is a Christian.[19] The Consecration of the Elements has no real meaning in itself, and the ministers are merely the religious officials of the secular government of the Christian state.[20]

Cranmer also has only one idea of a Eucharistic Sacrifice:

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[19] Dix, op. cit., p. 649.

[20] Ibid., pp. 652 ff.

it is an offering of praise and thanksgiving, consisting in the "emotions and ideas of those present at the Eucharist, and not in anything appertaining to the rite itself."[21] There is an utter divorce between what is done and what is gained by the worshipper: the Sacramental act has no connection with the grace that is received. The medieval development in which the worshipper passively viewed and contemplated the Eucharist but took no active part therein, this passive contemplation itself, has become the Liturgy; and the historic Eucharistic action of Offering, Eucharistic prayer, Fraction, and Communion, has been discarded to all intents and purposes. Dix cannot escape the conclusion that Cranmer was Zwinglian in his Eucharistic doctrine.[22]

With this in view, we turn back to the rite of 1549, and note that although the Defence gives us Cranmer's theology and commentary on it, there are four places where 1549 does not harmonize with that theology. These four points are:

(1) The words in the Prayer of Consecration, "to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son....."

(2) The words further on in the same prayer, "that whosoever shall be partakers of this Holy Communion

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[21] Ibid., p. 655.

[22] Ibid., p. 656 f.

may worthily receive the most precious Body and Blood of thy Son....."

(3) The before mentioned words "in these holy mysteries" in the Prayer of Humble Access.

(4) The words of Administration, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ.....The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ....."

All these quotations from the 1549 rite serve to show, or are able to show, a connection between the elements themselves and the grace which is given by means of them. A real objective Presence is strongly implied, if not more explicitly taught, and the conservative, Catholic-minded bishops of the time were not slow to point this out to Cranmer.

With the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, which came into use on All Saints Day, 1552, Cranmer left no doubt in any one's mind as to what was his doctrine of the Eucharist. It expresses perfectly his views suggested in the earlier liturgical productions and set forth in the Defence. In the first place, all of the above phrases which suggested a real objective Presence were omitted in 1552. But more than this, the very structure of the Liturgy itself was altered, and the fourfold sequence of Offering, Eucharistic prayer, Fraction and Communion was destroyed. It seemed as if Cranmer set out to make the new rite as different as possible from the classical liturgies. Major changes were a removal of the psalms and the Gloria from the beginning of the service, and a

substitution of the Ten Commandments there, after the Alsatian Order of Pullain, a Calvinist; the Intercessions placed after the Sermon; no Offertory of bread or wine or even of the alms of the people, but instead a typical offering of prayer and praise in the form of the long Exhortation, the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words - all these to take the place of the primitive Oblation;[23] and the Prayer of Humble Access removed to a point between the Sanctus and what was left of a Consecration prayer, because its previous place immediately before the Communion had led some to see it as a support of Eucharistic adoration. The ancient chant Benedictus qui venit (which had appeared in 1549, and which originated from a period long before Transubstantiation was heard of) was omitted from the Sanctus. The Consecration prayer itself became simply a separation of the elements "unto a spiritual and godly use," further strengthened by the omission of the words "bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures" and also the omission of any provision for a re-consecration if the bread and wine were all spent.[24] The words of Administration in the Communion were entirely changed to the form "Take this in remembrance that Christ died for thee....," a perfect expression of Zwinglian teaching. The Lord's Prayer was placed immediately after the

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[23] Ibid., p. 662.

[24] Ibid., p. 664.

Communion so as not to separate the "setting-apart" of the Elements from their use in Communion; the following Prayer of Oblation was removed to a place after the Communion from the Consecration prayer of which it had formed a part in 1549, and the words about a worthy reception of Christ's Body and Blood (point 2 above), which implied that one could unworthily receive them, a direct contradiction of Cranmer's Zwinglian receptionism-virtualism, were omitted. The alternate Prayer of Thanksgiving was put into the present tense instead of in that perfect tense which it had had in 1549, and which implied a benefit actually received from the reception of the Elements: the idea being that the spiritual feeding is independent of any reception of these Elements, but depends "only upon one's remembrance with faith of Christ's passion." The Gloria was transferred to the close of the service, and no provision was made for any consumption of the elements or Ablutions. This could not be necessary according to the Zwinglian view, because the elements had no essential holiness in themselves.[25]

We have described the 1552 rite in some detail because it is the basis of the Church of England rite today, and is the starting point for subsequent Anglican liturgical development. It was framed to express Cranmer's Zwinglian doctrine, and has little relation to any of the primitive liturgies. None of the four-fold action remains except the element of Communion,

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[25] Ibid., pp. 667 f.

and the whole Eucharistic action itself has been transferred to the mind. It has become wholly subjective.

In England: after Cranmer

It has been said, however, that Cranmer was not the Luther or the Calvin of the English Reformation: to him the Anglican Communion owes none of its doctrine of the Eucharist, however much it may be indebted to him for the beauty of its liturgical formularies.[26] Since 1552, the high-water mark of Anglican Protestantism, the trend has been entirely in a direction back toward the traditional doctrines and the traditional "Shape of the Liturgy" of the early Church, and this may be clearly traced down through the succeeding centuries. The first stage is reached after the Marian reaction, when Queen Elizabeth, that "bright Occidental Star," ascended the throne to bring peace to a distracted country. Cranmer's Eucharistic doctrine was explicitly repudiated in the Prayer Book of 1559 by the restoration of the 1549 words of Administration: "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ....The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ....," although the Zwinglian form, its meaning now altered by what preceded it, was also retained. This combination of Catholic and Protestant phraseology has often been cited as a classic example of the Anglican via media, the retention of both aspects of a religious truth.

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[26] Ibid., p. 674.

Cranmer's Zwinglianism was again repudiated in the Thirty-nine Articles, specifically in Article 28, written by Bishop Guest, in which the Body and Blood of Christ are said to be given in the Supper. Bishop Guest himself has left on record his testimony as to the intended meaning of this Article, which was to exclude

> not the presence of Christ's Body from the Sacrament, but only the grossness and sensibleness in the receiving thereof.[27]

These changes could still be interpreted according to a "High Calvinist" view of the Sacrament (as we have seen, Calvin did not go so far as Zwingli toward pure subjectivism) as Hooker seems to prove. Nevertheless, we still have to ask why the Church of England did not rid herself of Cranmer's Zwinglian rite along with his theology? Dix sees the reason for this in the existence of the royal supremacy, the desire of the Queen for national comprehension in the Church, and the prevalence of Puritanism. The 1549 would not have been acceptable to a large minority of the people at the time of the Anglican Settlement under Elizabeth.[28]

Our next stage in the Anglican Reformation is reached with the rise of the school of Caroline divines in the early years of the seventeenth century. Here, in such figures as

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[27] Brilioth, op. cit., p. 201.

[28] Dix, op. cit., pp. 679 ff.

Lancelot Andrewes and William Laud, we see a definite return to traditional views of the Eucharist, and this is even reflected in the sacramental portions of the Catechism (1604), which are strongly Augustinian in teaching. The classical Anglican Eucharistic teaching is, as Brilioth has shown, based on the Johannine tradition of the early Church, and partakes of a strong Greek patristic influence. The Eucharist, for those who hold these views, is a sacrificial act of Memorial, and Christ is spoken of as being offered in the rite. Andrewes stressed the Memorial aspect of the Sacrifice, while Laud's teaching may be summarized in three points:

(1) The commemorative Sacrifice of Christ's death is made by the priest alone, and is represented by the Elements.

(2) There is also a Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving made to God by both priest and people.

(3) And there is a self-Oblation by the individual.[29]

As the Prayer Book of 1559 represented the Elizabethan Settlement, so the Scottish Prayer Book of 1637 represented this Caroline influence. But before we describe this important book in some detail, we shall continue our discussion of the further developments in Anglican Eucharistic practice.

The third stage in this development is represented by the Prayer Book of 1662, the present authorized Liturgy of

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[29] Brilioth, op. cit., pp. 207 f.

the Church of England. Upon this rite the influence of the Caroline theology and practice is apparent. Although its structure and order is still that of 1552, the process of the restoration of important lost elements has continued. There is the re-appearance of the act of Offertory, expressed by means of a rubric directing the priest to place on the Holy Table the bread and the wine for the Communion; there is a verbal Oblation of sorts in the Prayer for the Church, although the word "oblations" itself is thought by some to refer not to the elements, but to the priest's dues;[30] there is a restoration of the manual acts, including the Fraction, in the Prayer of Consecration; and there is a restoration of the consumption of the consecrated Elements after the service is ended by the Blessing. The rite of 1662, which is also the present rite of the Church of Ireland, the Church of England in Canada, and the Churches in Australia and New Zealand, is therefore a compromise, typically Anglican, between Cranmer's rite and the traditional theology which he had thought to eradicate from Anglicanism (as he conceived this as yet unrealized entity). Subsequent attempts to resolve the compromise by a return to a more traditional form have not as yet proven successful in the Established Church of England, as the events of 1927 and 1928 have shown.[31]

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[30] Dix, op. cit., p. 691.

[31] Ibid., p. 693.

Nevertheless, Brilioth feels that this 1662 rite does set forth in its own way the various elements of Eucharistic thought and worship as we described them in chapter 4 of this paper: Thanksgiving through the Gloria, Sanctus, and Proper Prefaces; Communion-Fellowship through the rite's own emphasis on the Communion itself; Memorial through the Lessons, the Prefaces, and the prominent position of the words of Institution immediately before the Communion; Sacrifice through the manual acts, the offering of alms, and the Prayer of Oblation; and Mystery through, above all, the Prayer of Humble Access. This last prayer is very Greek, and strongly reflects the Johannine quality of Anglican piety, according to Brilioth.[32]

The fourth stage in the development of Anglican Eucharistic practice is to be found in the Tractarian Revival of the years after 1833. This was a definite revival of sacramental religion in the Anglican Communion, inspired equally by the Church Fathers and the Caroline divines, and having its American precursor in Bishop Hobart. At first the doctrinal side was emphasized over the ceremonial, but soon the ceremonial expression of the doctrine made itself known, sometimes in extreme and exaggerated forms. The best exemplar of this type of thought is to be found, perhaps, in Charles Gore.[33]

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[32] Brilioth, op. cit., p. 214.

[33] See Charles Gore, The Body of Christ (London: John Murray, 1901) for the exposition of his Eucharistic doctrine.

For him the Eucharist is "of a piece with the Incarnation"; the emphasis here is on the unity of the Church's act in the Eucharist with the work of Christ's self-offering in Heaven: "the consummation of her worship is the Church's self-oblation to God."[34] Liturgical expression of this fourth stage came to a climax in the abortive Revised Prayer Book of 1928, which failed to pass Parliament, but which has been authorized extra-legally by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York as representing essentially the mind of the Church of England in regard to its public worship. In this rite of 1928 the Church of England's liturgy once again touched hands with the 1637 Scottish rite of the Caroline divines, so to the 1637 book we must now return.

Scottish and American Successors of 1637

The Scottish Prayer Book of 1637, and particularly its order for the Holy Communion, was undoubtedly the liturgical expression of the Eucharistic thinking of Andrewes, Laud, and their school, whom we have called the Caroline divines. During the earliest years of the seventeenth century in Scotland there had grown up among a small group of bishops (the Episcopate was restored to the Church of Scotland in 1610) a desire to replace John Knox's Calvinist Book of Common Order

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[34] Brilioth, op. cit., p. 216.

by a liturgy on the English model. The project was definitely revived in 1629 by King Charles I, and the work of providing such a liturgy was entrusted to Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and to Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, both followers of Laud and his thinking. Their work was subsequently scrutinized and revised in details by Laud himself and by Wren, Bishop of Norwich.[35]

Although the 1637 book has often been called Laud's, his actual work, we see, was indirect. He had desired the English book to be adopted in full for Scotland, but the Scottish bishops wanted one of their own. Most of them were even in favor of a more Puritan rite, but Maxwell and Wedderburn, backed by Laud's influence, prevailed in their project. Wedderburn was a real scholar, and it is to him that the 1637 rite owes, for example, the restoration of the manual acts to the Prayer of Consecration (it will be remembered that they had disappeared from the English rite in 1552 and were not restored until 1662), the removal of the Prayer of Humble Access to its original place immediately before the Communion, and a return to the 1549 words of Administration by themselves, without the addition of Cranmer's form which 1559 had kept. General changes from the 1552 standard were these: the restoration of a specific Memorial, Oblation, and Invocation to the

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[35] John Dowden, The Annotated Scottish Communion Office: An Historical Account of the Scottish Communion Office and of the Communion Office of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (Edinburgh: R. Grant and Son, 1884), p. 29.

Prayer of Consecration, as in 1549; a commemoration of the faithful departed; different Offertory sentences with a less financial application; and a specific Offering of the bread and wine upon the Holy Table.[36] As we have seen, a few of these points were adopted in 1662, but not the important one regarding the position of the prayers or the structure of the Consecration prayer.

It is a matter of historical fact, however, that the 1637 rite never came into use, but rather served to precipitate the Puritan rebellion against King Charles I and the Church of England. With the restoration of the Episcopate to Scotland in 1662, no additional move was made to restore liturgical forms, and for the rest of the seventeenth century the only regulations (in Scotland) were that the Lord's Prayer be repeated and a Doxology be sung in public worship, with the use of the Apostles' Creed at Baptism. In 1689 after the "Glorious Revolution" the Episcopal Church of Scotland was disestablished; and in the reign of Queen Anne, perhaps the last English sovereign openly to favor the Anglican Church over the Dissenters, English Prayer Books were sent up for the use of the disestablished body there, since it was thought too expensive to reprint the 1637 book.[37]

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[36] Ibid., pp. 37 ff.

[37] Ibid., pp. 43 ff.

It remained for the Non-Jurors, Jacobite sympathizers, to rediscover the 1637 rite and introduce its excellencies once more to the world. These Non-Jurors, and in fact the whole Scottish Episcopal Church, which was strongly Jacobite in politics after Queen Anne's death in 1714, and so an illegal body before the law, turned to their past traditions and to those of the early Church, and introduced an intensive liturgical study among their followers. They began to favor the adoption of what came to be known as the four usages: an express Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the Prayer of Consecration, a prayer of Oblation, a commemoration of the faithful departed, and the mixing of water with the wine in the cup.[38] The first three of these were to be found in the 1637 rite, so it became the norm by which further liturgical progress was measured.

In turning to the early Church, the Non-Jurors soon discovered the Greek Liturgy of St. James, which, as we saw, was one of the rites from the South Syrian (Jerusalem) area of the Roman world. The non-juring Bishop Rattray issued an edition of this liturgy in 1744, which he entitled The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem.[39] Because of its supposed primitive Christian origin, this rite immediately gained great prestige among the Non-Jurors, who had no way of knowing the

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[38] Ibid., pp. 58 f.

[39] Ibid., pp. 92 ff.

actual date and distribution of early Christian liturgies, and soon its influence upon the Scottish rite itself was felt. The Non-Jurors of the Episcopal Church of Scotland issued their Scottish Communion Office in 1764, and it was largely the work of Bishop Falconar of Edinburgh and Bishop Forbes. There was no Sealed or Standard Book of this rite, and it included only that part of the service from the Offertory on, the "Word of God" portion never having been printed. The Consecration prayer, with its Preface and Sanctus, came immediately after the Offertory, and was composed of the Institution, Oblation, Memorial, and Invocation, followed by the 1549 Prayer of Oblation which Cranmer had moved to a place after the Communion in 1552. After the Prayer of Consecration came the Prayer for the Church (thus following the Syrian position for the Intercession), then the Lord's Prayer, the preparatory devotions for Communion (Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, and Prayer of Humble Access), the Communion itself, the Prayer of Thanksgiving, Gloria, and Blessing.

This, then, was the service which was in use when Samuel Seabury arrived in Aberdeen in 1784 to receive consecration to the Episcopate at the hands of the Scottish bishops, and it was this Consecration prayer which he promised to try to have adopted by the young Church in America. So the American Church received its rite, in its most important feature, through this Laudian and Scottish channel, and thus we can

say that the English compromise of 1559-1662 has been somewhat resolved on this side of the Atlantic since 1789.

It is the American rite of 1928 which is to be the basis for our commentary upon the Communion service, and the purpose of this somewhat extended historical survey has been merely to lead up to our present time and service. Our Liturgy is seen to have a long and somewhat complicated history, but when we turn to a consideration of it, we see that the main outlines which link it to the liturgies of the early Church stand out with remarkable clarity. When Samuel Seabury brought over the Scottish Office for consideration by General Convention, he met with remarkably little opposition to his proposal. A cautious re-wording of the language of the Invocation, at the instance of Dr. William Smith and the Maryland delegation, was all that was done to the Consecration prayer itself. Nevertheless, the 1789 rite still kept much of the order of the English 1662 service, in such matters as the position of the Prayer for the Church, the Prayer of Humble Access, and the Lord's Prayer. Gradually the last two of these prayers were seen to be out of place, and at the 1928 revision both were put immediately before the Communion, thus bringing even the order of our rite into close conformity with the ancient models. The wisdom of leaving the Prayer for the Church in its 1552 position (where it coincidentally fills the position of the ancient Prayers of the faithful) has been shown many times, and it is generally agreed that the Scottish

rite of 1764 did not improve its structure by moving this prayer, with the preparatory devotions, to a place after the Prayer of Consecration, where it considerably lengthens the time span between Consecration and Communion.[40]

So we have today our own Communion Office as it finally received its form in 1928. As we proceed to a study of each separate portion thereof, it will become increasingly apparent, I trust, that our Liturgy is in very truth a heritage from past ages as well as an expression of our contemporary devotion to the Triune God.

* * *

Note

The major portion of this thesis was to have been, as has been indicated, a commentary on the 1928 Order for Holy Communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Considerations of time and space, however, have limited us for the present to a sketch of the necessary Biblical and historical backgrounds of our rite; it is desired that the study be continued in the future with a further and more detailed consideration of each of the features of the service as they occur.

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[40] Parsons and Jones, op. cit., pp. 210 f.

APPENDIX A

Names of the Service

The official name of the Anglican Communion Service is "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion": this title goes back to 1552. It is significant that the title of the 1549 service was "The Supper of the Lord and Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." Leaving aside the use of the word Mass, we notice that while 1549 sees the Holy Communion as in some sense separate from the Lord's Supper itself, 1552 equates the two, and makes the two terms alternate designations of the same service. This, as a matter of fact, has been Anglican practice ever since; strictly speaking, however, our common title of Holy Communion gives to the whole service a name which in reality describes only an element of it.

The Lord's Supper (Kuriakon deipnon, Coena Domini) has popularly been associated, since the Reformation, with the more Protestant view of the Liturgy, particularly on the Continent. It is, however, an ancient name for the service, and need not be associated with only one section of Christendom.[1] Holy Communion (koinonia, communio), probably the most common Anglican title in ordinary use, has become in Latin usage the

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[1] Percy Dearmer, The Parson's Handbook (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 265 n.

technical name of the Sacrament, as represented by the consecrated Bread and Wine.[2]

The Breaking of Bread (klasis artou, Fractio panis) is one of the earliest names for the service, and is found several places in the New Testament. Like the Holy Communion, it refers to one of the elements in the action of the service, and gives its name to the whole rite. The same is true of the well-known name Eucharist or Thanksgiving (Eucharistia, Gratiarum actio), which is taken from the Prayer of Thanksgiving (what we have called the Eucharistic prayer), again one of the main elements of the Liturgy. From the very beginning it seems to have been in common use:[3] we find it in the Didache and in St. Ignatius's writings. Reference has also already been made to its being a translation of the Hebrew word berakah, which can also be rendered by our word Blessing (Euchologia, Benedictio). As an official title, however, we find Eucharist used only in the German Protestant Order of Nordlingen (1525).[4]

The word Liturgy (Leitourgia), which gives it name to the study of orders of worship (liturgics), meant originally in Greek any public service, such as road building or tax collecting. In the Greek Old Testament the word is used of

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[2]Fortescue, op. cit., p. 398.

[3]Ibid.

[4]J. H. Srawley, "The Holy Communion Service," Liturgy and Worship, p. 305.

the public sacrifices in the Temple. It passed into the Christian Church as a term first applied to any service of worship, then it became restricted to the Lord's Supper, and this is still its regular meaning in the East (as it is largely throughout this paper). In Anglican usage the word refers to the Prayer Book as a whole, an example of which usage we see in the Preface to the 1662 book.[5]

The word Mass (Missa) is analogous to Liturgy in the Western Church for this reason; it too has undergone a change of meaning (without meaning the same as the word Liturgy in the first place), and is now applied to the Lord's Supper alone. It seems first to have been so used by St. Ambrose, when he speaks of the "Mass" of the faithful. It is derived from the Late Latin word missio, meaning "dismissal." As we have seen, there were two dismissals in the early liturgies: one of the catechumens before the Eucharist proper began, and the other at the end of the Eucharist itself. Fortescue points out that "Mass" is not an essential name for the Eucharist, but a late term arising in the West only, and it does not in itself involve the idea of Sacrifice.[6] It should not be used to describe an Eastern rite. As we noticed above, the word was part of the official title of our Anglican 1549 rite, but disappeared in 1552; it was retained in Lutheran

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[5] Ibid., p. 305.

[6] Fortescue, op. cit., pp. 399 ff.

usage, however, and is the common designation for the ordinary Sunday morning service in Sweden (Högmaessa). It earned for itself prejudice in England because it seemed to be bound up with the medieval superstitions and abuses of the element of Sacrifice. The Anglican Reformers, whatever else they did, were desirous of returning to scriptural ideas, and so preferred the scriptural designations of Lord's Supper and Communion. Percy Dearmer wisely points out that the word "Mass" still excites a "great deal of prejudice," and in most cases if used would cause "needless offense."[7] It is useful as a technical term in liturgics, as when we speak of the Mass of the catechumens, or in music when we refer to a Mass by Bach or Mozart; but it may be seriously questioned whether it will ever be dissociated from ideas that are not the ideas of the Anglican churches. One must always remember that at best it is a meaningless term for modern usage, and has no historical justification in Anglican usage from the Reformation until less than one hundred years ago. It has become a party term, and as such is utterly foreign to even a Christian spirit, since it does "needlessly offend."

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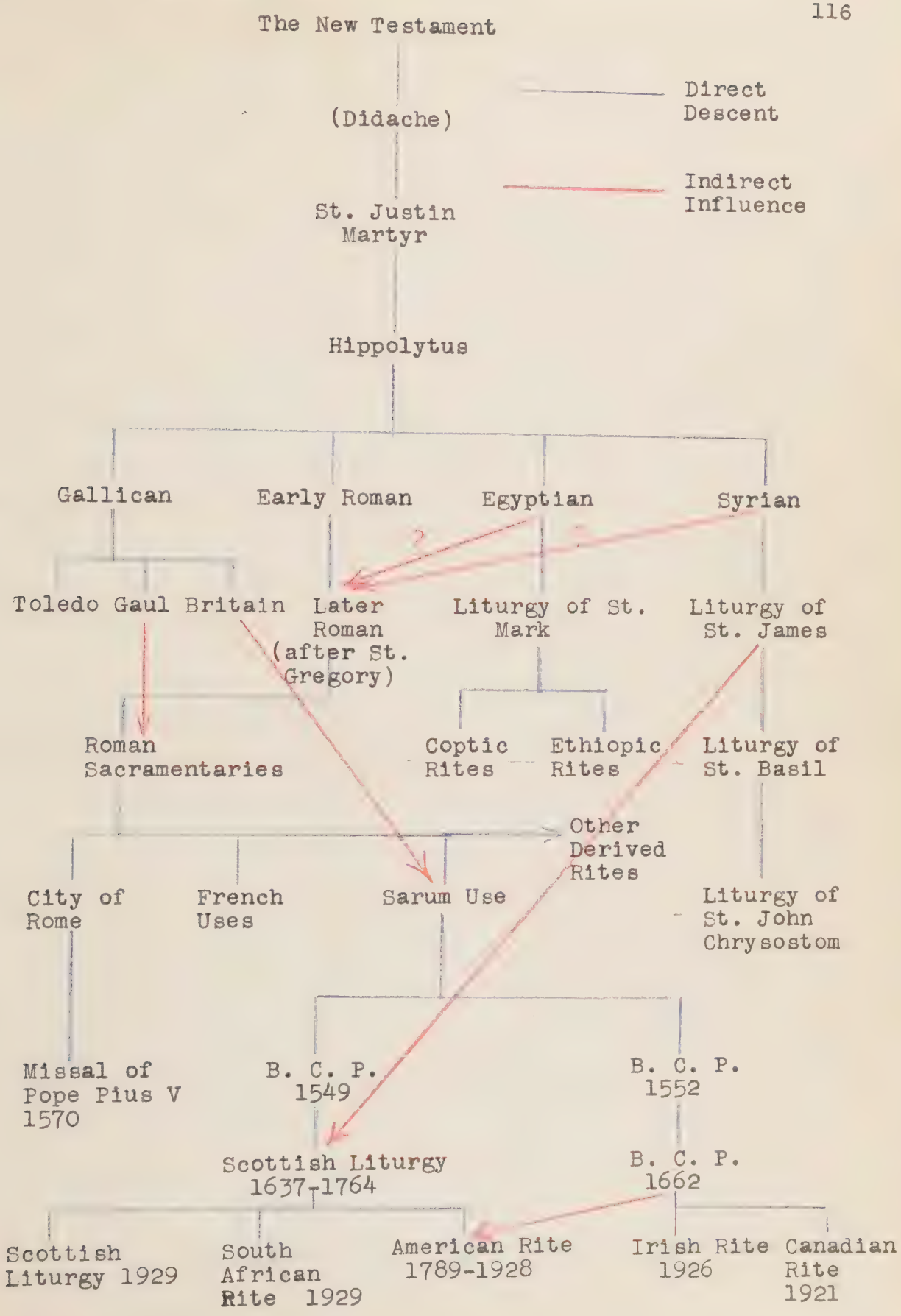
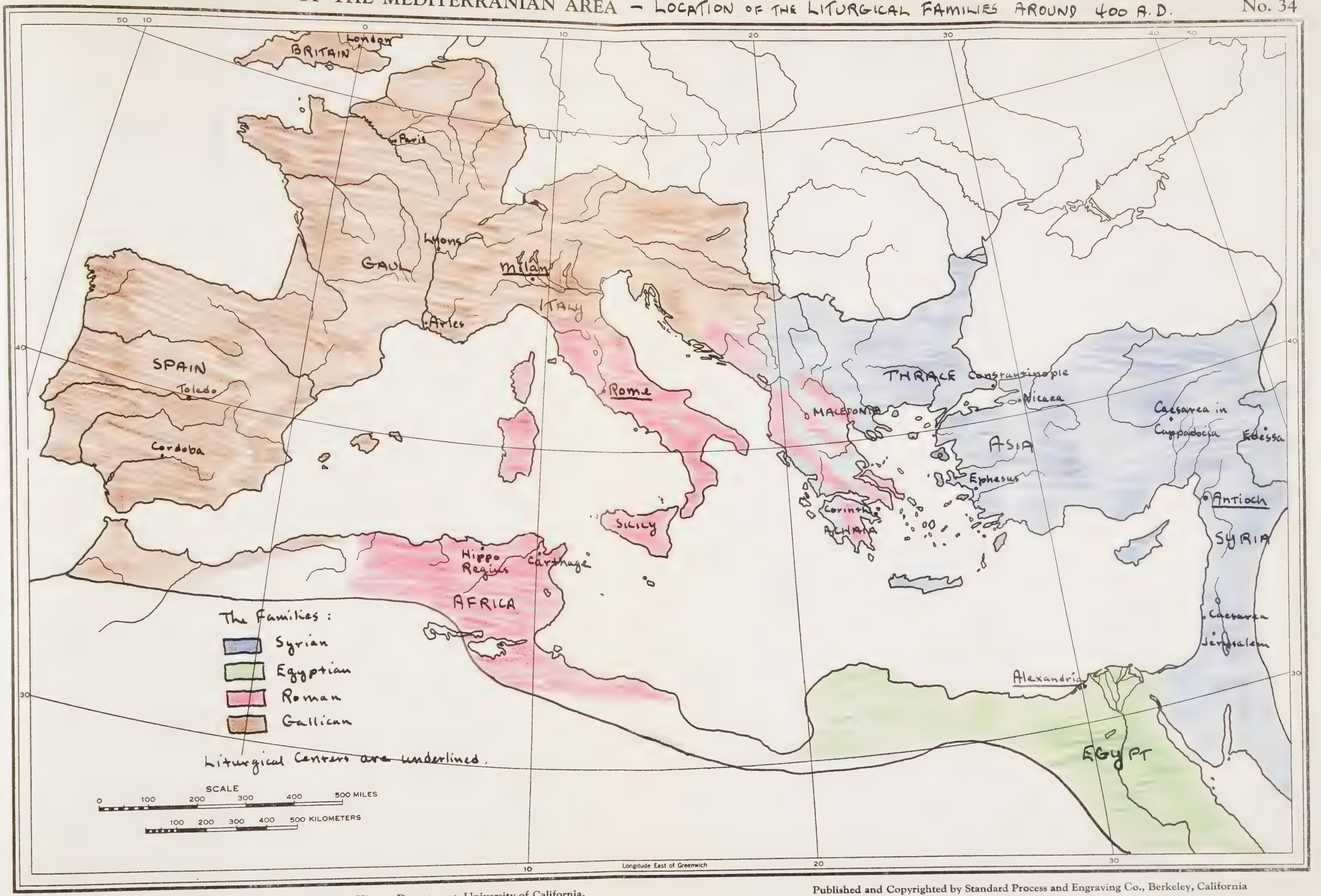
[7]Dearmer, op. cit., p. 265 n.

Genealogical Table of
the 1928 American Rite



SARUM	1549	1552-1662	1928 (Am.)
Preparation: Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity	Collect for Purity
---	--- INTRODUC-	---	---
Introit	Introit TION	Decalogue	Decalogue or Summary of the Law
Kiss of Peace			
Kyrie	Kyrie		Kyrie
Gloria	Gloria		
Collects for Day	Collects for Day & King	Collects for King & Day	Collects for Day
---	--- LESSONS	---	---
Epistle	Epistle	Epistle	Epistle
Gradual Alleluia or Tract Sequence			Hymn
Gospel	Gospel	Gospel	Gospel
Creed	Creed	Creed	Creed
	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon
==========	========== OFFERTORY	==========	==========
	Exhortations		
O. Chant	Sentences	Sentences	Sentences and Anthem
Prayers			
Lavabo			
Secret		Prayer for the Church	Prayer for the Church
		Exhortations	
		Preparatory Devotions	Preparatory Devotions
---	---EUCHARISTIC---	---	---
Preface	Preface PRAYER	Preface	Preface
Sanctus-Benedictus	Sanctus-Benedictus	Sanctus	Sanctus
		Prayer of Humble Access	
Canon	Prayer for Church and Consecration	Prayer of Consecration	Prayer of Consecration
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer		Lord's Prayer
---	--- FRACTION	---	---
Embolismus			
Pax	Pax		
---	---COMMUNION	---	---
Agnus Dei	Preparatory		
Prayers	Devotions		
	Prayer of Humble Access		Prayer of Humble Access
Communion	Communion	Communion	Communion
C. Chant	Agnus Dei		Hymn
Ablutions		Lord's Prayer	
	Sentences	Prayer of Oblation or	
Post-Communion	Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving	Prayer of Thanksgiving
		Gloria	Gloria
Dismissal	Blessing	Blessing	Blessing

EUBANK'S OUTLINE MAP OF THE MEDITERRANIAN AREA — LOCATION OF THE LITURGICAL FAMILIES AROUND 400 A.D. No. 34



Edited by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton and Prof. F. C. Palm, History Department, University of California.

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